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A HISTORY OF MALAYA

BY

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FROM the absence of stone buildings, people are apt to call Malaya a land without a history. This sketch should refute such a baseless inference, while the specialist will know that on every chapter of the book a volume might be written.

No one can engage in first-hand research in all the fields of Hindu, Malay, Chinese, Portuguese, Dutch and English history, so that like every modern historian I am indebted for the material of some of my chapters to the labours of others. But for the researches of Dr. P. V. van Stein Callenfels, M. Mansuy, Mdlle. Colani and Mr. I. Evans my first chapter would be worthless; so too my chapter on the Hindu period, if Dr. Coedès and Dr. Krom had not worked in this inexhaustible field; and my chapter on the English Pioneers is based almost entirely on the life-long studies of Sir William Foster. For books on Malaya, I owe most to Mr. L. L. Mills' *British Malaya (1824–1867)* and to the many papers of Mr. R. J. Wilkinson, C.M.G., whose encouragement and example first turned me to Malay studies nearly thirty years ago.

I am indebted to Mr. Roland Braddell for calling my attention to a recent text of Marco Polo, which revives a geographical problem about old Singapore, and also for suggesting a plausible explanation of the folk-tale that sword-fish once attacked that port. Mr. W. E. Dyer, Professor of History at Raffles College, has read most of my book in manuscript and freely given me the benefit of his expert knowledge. Above all I have to thank Dr. Callenfels for implementing his published articles by verbal information on prehistory which he has generously permitted me to use.

I am indebted to His Highness Colonel Ibrahim, G.C.M.G., K.B.E., D.K., S.P.M.S. Sultan of Johore for Plates XVII and XX and to His Highness Iskandar Shah, G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., Sultan of Perak, for Plates XIV, XV, XVI and XX.

Mr. G. B. Gardner has kindly drawn some of the line illustrations and allowed me to reproduce Plate VI and Illustrations 19 and 23 from articles in his collection. The Society and the Museums Departments have provided me with plates I to V and VII to XII. Mr. T. D. Hughes, a Portuguese scholar in the Civil Service, has been good enough to read my chapters on the Portuguese period and to supply the photos of an old Portuguese casque. In 1933, Mr. F. N. Chasen, Director of Raffles Museum, Singapore, showed Mr. Hughes this casque which had been in the Museum for many years, its origin and history unknown. Mr. Hughes recognised it as resembling the type worn by the conquistadores of the sixteenth century and sent photos to Professor Edgar Prestage, who holds the Camoens Chair of Portuguese at London University. Professor Prestage agreed with Mr. Hughes' view and got it confirmed at Lisbon by C. R. Bosces, an expert on Portuguese military matters. It must be a relic of Portuguese Malacca.

R.O.W.

May—October, 1934.
JOHOR BAHARU.

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I

PRIMITIVE TRIBES AND PREHISTORIC REMAINS.

i.

Omitting Hindus, Chinese and other immigrants of historical times, the inhabitants of Malaya are of four races: the Negrito, the Sakai, the Jakun (or Proto-Malay) and the civilized Malay, though anthropology has not left the Sakai pure and finds even the Negrito composite.

The term Negrito was coined by Spanish writers to describe the dark woolly-haired pigmy Aetas of the Philippines, whose racial strain some anthropologists have claimed to detect in peoples throughout the Malay Archipelago and others see as an element in tribes of India and Indo-China. Such theories at present are guess-work but there must be relationship between the Aetas of Luzon Mindanao and Palawan, the Mincopies of the Andaman Islands and the Negritos of Malaya. In Perak these pigmies are called Semang, on the east coast Pangan. They occur along the west of the Peninsula from Trang down to the Dindings and they occur inland in Upper Perak and Kelantan. Some 2,000 in number, they are nomads, sleeping on a floor of sticks under a wall-less leaf-shelter which is propped on a stick and is hardly bigger than a large chicken hutch. They build neither houses, rafts nor boats. Their food consists of jungle fruits and roots and wild game. In Malaya as in the Philippines they used the bow and arrow but in Malaya they have borrowed now the Sakai blow-pipe. "Take from the Negrito his bow and arrow, which presumably he borrowed from another people, and nothing is left but a society that only differs from that of the apes in enjoying a greater skill in capturing game, in being able to communicate information to one another, and in utilizing that information." They have no food stores and no thought of providing for the morrow. They have no ruling class and no tribal organisation but live in independent family groups whose members are free and equal. Greed and cruelty, lying and quarreling, theft, murder and adultery are foreign to their simple nature, while the women are patterns of modesty though the scented herbs that form their only garment are worn above the waist! For religion they have fear of thunder and lightning and a hope that

for the dead is an island with fruit-laden trees. Have they brachycephalic bullet-heads or mesocephalic heads midway between bullet-head and long-head? Both types occur, just as individual Negritos are found with the wavy hair of the Sakai instead of their own woolly mops. When did they reach Malaya? We do not know. Did they arrive after the Sakai? Neither in Indo-China nor in Malaya do their skeletal remains appear before the late neolithic period. It is remarkable that in Malaya many of them have inhabited the coastal swamps and that they have hardly invaded the mountain range which is the Sakai habitat. Nor have they found their way to the southern half of British Malaya. This very ancient race seems to have descended from the continent of Asia in comparatively recent times and is the biggest anthropological puzzle of the area.

Taller and fairer than Negritos, Senoi (or Sakai) have wavy hair and longer skulls. Their faces are adorned with painted lines and patterns. Their weapon is the blow-pipe, a long hollow tube from which is blown a tiny dart tinged with vegetable poison. Their houses, sometimes communal, are well built and stand, like Malay houses, on piles. Some 20,000 in number, they consist of tribes or families under patriarchal chiefs. They plant hill-rice, sugar, millet, plantains, tobacco and, like old-time Malays (other than the owners of orchards and irrigated rice-fields), they move to fresh clearings as soon as the hill soil is exhausted. Like the civilised Malay they fear innumerable spirits of sickness and instead of interring a magician give him tree-burial so that his tiger familiar may rend his body and release his spirit, a custom of which there are traces among the Malays. On the graves of their dead they place food and personal belongings. Their language appears to be Malayo-Polynesian with an admixture of Mon-Khmer words. In the remoter mountains they are a typical Indonesian, alias Nesiot, hill breed (on a substratum of Australo-Melanesoids), akin to many hill tribes in Yunnan, South China, Indochina, the Philippines, Formosa, Borneo, Celebes and Sumatra. Tribes inhabiting the foot-hills are less pure, showing not merely a very early Australo-Melanesoid strain but an admixture of Negrito blood in the north of the Peninsula and of Jakun blood in the south. The hybrid

A Negrito from Perak.

word Australo-Melanesoid is coined in order not to confuse the modern Australian aborigine and the modern Papuan with their very remote ancestors: in the present stage of anthropological research it is the closest attempt at definition possible.

An Australo-Melanesoid strain appears also as an element in the Jakun or Proto-Malay tribes of south Pahang, Negri Sembilan, Johor, the Riau Archipelago and the east coast of Sumatra. Skeat rightly derides the attempts of early writers to explain the Negrito by the assumption of a "wrecked dhow," but, as the excavation of caves and shell-heaps has shown, he is on very doubtful ground when he laughs at an explorer who sixty years ago guessed that Johor aborigines were "probably related to Papuans." So strong are the Papuan characteristics in some of the Johor Jakun that the first thought of the unscientific tourist is that some Negro stoker has been their father. However the Australo-Melanesoid strain is merely an element in their physical synthesis, as also is the Indonesian strain; for all Jakun tribes, both of land and sea, are Mongoloid like the civilised Malays, most of them having bullet heads and lank hair. The term Mongoloid has been invented for modern races, which show some or all of the typical racial features of the pure Mongols and Chinese. The home of the Malay race was traced on linguistic grounds to Champa, Cochin-China and Cambodia and now on cultural evidence is placed north west of Yunnan. And just as Proto-Malay has been invented for the Indonesian *cum* Mongoloid synthesis, so deutero-Malay or Malay proper is a term sometimes used to describe the present day Malays of the Peninsula and the coasts of the Archipelago, namely the descendants of the Proto-Malay, mixed with modern Indian, Chinese and Arab blood.

Few Jakun practise agriculture. These Proto-Malays have Batin or tribal headmen and memorize tribal days. The jungle tribes live on fruits and wild game, while the sea-tribes (the "Orange Lords" of a well-known tale by Kipling) live by fishing. Some take contracts for felling coastal jungle or collect rattans and jungle produce for the ubiquitous Chinese middleman. Wherever Sakai influence has not imposed Mon-Khmer, they talk Malay, a purer language than that of the civilised Muslim Malay. In

Pahang and Johor the jungle Jakun employs a large tabu vocabulary during his quest for wild camphor. Like many civilised Malays they believe that mountains and rocks, trees, corpses and weapons have indwelling spirits mostly maleficent. It is possible that the Jakun reached the Malay Peninsula by sea. Sylvain Lévi has adduced evidence that some thousand years before Christ the sea-faring Proto-Malay gave India a pre-Dravidian civilisation, still to be traced in place-names and outrigger boats. In historical times the Proto-Malay sea tribes have played a part in the making of the Malay empires of Malacca and Johor. Barros (1553) was the first Portuguese to call them Cellates, which is usually, though perhaps wrongly, interpreted people of the *Sĕlat* or Straits. Writing about 1600 Godinho de Eredia says: "Before the founding of the town of Malacca, the place was inhabited by Saletes, a race of fishermen, who settled themselves under the Malacca trees there. They used pointed javelins called *saligi*" (a word that has given its name to a Singapore road) "and pursued fishes with such address that they could transfix them in the depths of the sea, and they used no other weapon." When Malacca passed into European hands, the Jakun still recognised the emperor of Johor as their overlord: when in 1717 the capital, Johor Lama, was captured by a Sumatran pretender, his victory was ascribed to the fact that the Johor admiral bribed Raja Negara, the Batin chief of the sea Jakun, not to announce the advent of the invader; and in 1738 the Batin of nine tribes presented themselves before Sulaiman Badr al-'Alam Shah, Sultan of Johor, and were given grandiloquent titles.

Will science ever be able to define in the civilised Malay the various primitive strains it has already guessed? In Indo-China have been found skulls Australoid, Melanesoid, Negrito and Indonesian, but human races do not migrate in test-tube isolation. Slavery has been a great mixer of blood. Even in modern Muslim times Negrito blood is patent in many Malays of Upper Perak, and Sakai blood in those of Perak and Pahang. The founder of the noble house of the Laksamanas or Admirals of old Malacca was Hang Tuah, a Jakun from the island of Bintan across Singapore harbour. Royalty has always been cosmopolitan in its mistresses. Sultan

Muhammad Shah of Malacca (1424–45) married a Tamil, who bore him Sultan Muzaffar Shah: his grandson, Mansur Shah, married a Javanese, a Chinese and a Siamese, the last the mother of two Sultans of Pahang. Everywhere Sayids from the Hadramaut have married with Malay nobility. For two thousand years there has been direct continual commerce between the Coromandel coast and Kedah, while old Malacca was full of Muslim Gujeratis and Tamils. In the north there has been intermarriage with Thai or modern Siamese. Achinese dominated Perak for a century. Bugis colonized Selangor and traded and fought throughout the Peninsula. In Patani and Kelantan there have survived traces of Javanese culture apparently dating back to the Majapahit of the fourteenth century, while since British protection the coasts of the Peninsula have been peopled by Javanese, Bugis and Banjarese. There is no one type of civilized Malay.

ii.

Anthropology today has got a powerful young auxiliary in prehistory, the science of the cave, the cromlech and the kitchen-midden. If in all the caves of a certain area excavation not with vandal spade but with toothpick care finds layers of stone implements or other relics of forgotten civilisations one above the other always in the same order, then it can be claimed that the relics represent the cultures of races coming one after the other in prehistoric time. If with any one of those layers is always found, for example, the Australo-Melanesoid skull, then it can be claimed that layer represents an Australo-Melanesoid civilisation. Furthermore, if besides these skeletal remains prehistoric sites show progress in culture as one advances from Mongolia to the Malay Archipelago then prehistory confirms what the habitats of modern descendants of primitive races suggest, namely that migration was from north to south.

Only at three places in the Far East has a pure palaeolithic culture been found, namely in Mongolia, along with the Pekin Man and on the terraces of the Solo river in Java. Exploration of Malaya's river terraces might reveal further sites.

Later comes in south east Asia a mesolithic culture when man still used palaeoliths. Of this civilisation there are abundant traces.

In 1924 the French in Northern Tonkin and Dr. Callenfels on the east coast of Sumatra discovered bouchers, scrapers and other implements of a type belonging in Europe to the palaeolithic period though in the Far East ascribed roughly to 5000 B.C. Prehistorians

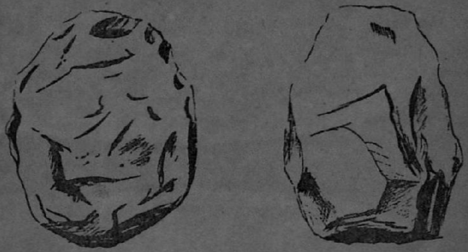
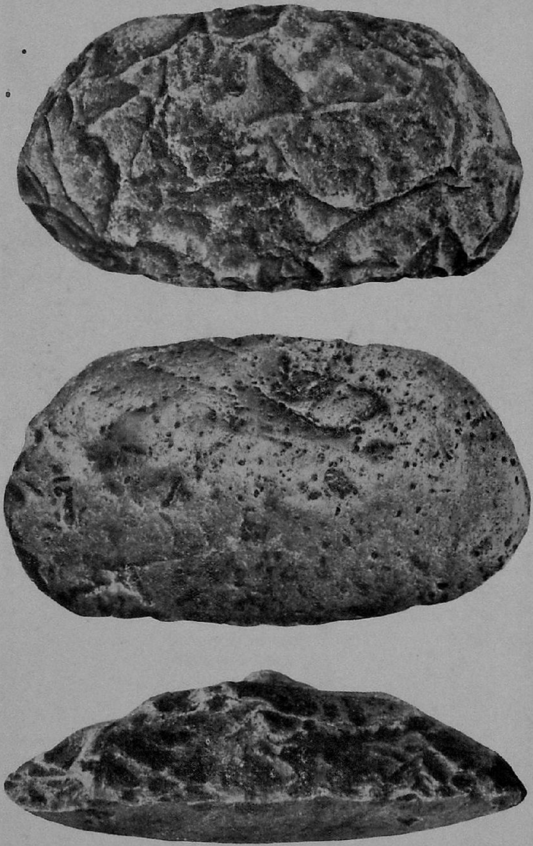


Fig. 1. Hoabinhian palaeoliths from Perak.

have agreed to call the artefacts of this type Hoabinhian* after the scene of their greatest incidence in Tonkin, and have distinguished three sub-types:—(*a*) large rough tools roughly chipped, (*b*) smaller tools more neatly chipped and found mixed with protoneoliths (or artefacts of rough chipped stone with only edges polished), and (*c*) still smaller tools or retouched fragments, rarely occurring with protoneoliths. Everywhere there is abundance of Hoabinhian tools chipped on one face only, the water-worn skin or surface of the other face being left as nature made it (Pl. III) but in Sumatra with two exceptions no other type occurs. In Siam and on the east coast of Sumatra (with one exception) only the Hoabinhian palaeolith has been found. In Malaya, on the other hand, excavations at Gua Kerbau, a rock-shelter near Padang Rengas, as well as at other sites in Perak have revealed two periods of Hoabinhian culture: an earlier, as on the east coast of Sumatra, with no protoneoliths and no pottery, and a later with both. Gua Kerbau also showed that grinding and pounding stones and grinding slabs were used throughout both periods, and that on their descent from

* *Note.*—Though Bac-Son was cited by Callenfels and Evans in their Report on Cave Exploration in Perak, the term Bacsonian has now been dropped and Hoabinhian substituted.

5A



Sumatra-type Hoabinhian Palaeolith from Perak
(upper figure, front; middle figure, back view).

the north the Perak cave-dwellers had learnt the use of ruddle to give magical strength to their bodies and to the skulls of their dead.

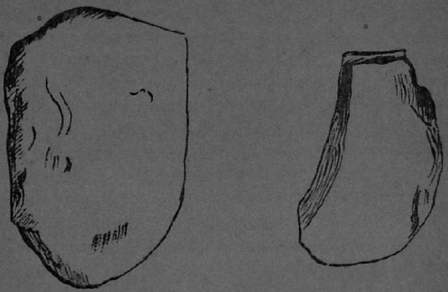


Fig. 2. Protoneoliths.

So about 5000 B.C. a mesolithic civilisation using palaeoliths spread on the east to Northern Tonkin and on the west to Sumatra. In Tonkin this civilisation developed a still rather rough series of protoneoliths with ground edges, that can be traced in Japan. the Liu-Kiu Islands and Formosa, through Luzon to Sarawak, Dutch Borneo and Celebes, through Siam down to Malaya, in Sumatra and in east Java. Whence did this polishing come? In Java's Sampoeng Cave above the lowest or arrowhead layer Dr. Callenfels found no stone implements but hundreds of bone and horn adzes, spatulae, fish-hooks and spear-heads. In the caves of Northern Tonkin among thousands of palaeoliths and protoneoliths were found a few horn and bone implements of the Sampoeng type, while in the south of Tonkin and the north of Annam excavations have yielded fewer stone and more bone and horn implements. Did a race emigrate from Asia to Java, abandoning as it went its stone implements for bone and horn? And is there any evidence what this race was? In the caves of Northern Tonkin, which produced both palaeoliths and protoneoliths the French got both Australo-Melanesoid and Indonesian skulls but alas! did not discriminate the strata in which they occurred. However in caves

having no protoneoliths were found no Indonesian skulls. The horn and bone layer of the Sampoeng cave revealed several skeletons all Australo-Melanesoid. And in 1860, in a Province Wellesley shell-heap, like those of Sumatra in which Hoabinhian palaeoliths occur, was found the same mesolithic culture with remains which Professor Huxley in 1863 identified as related to the modern Australian aborigines and Papuans. Dr. Callenfels has now excavated shell-heaps at Guak Kepah (*Shell-fish Heaps*) on the south bank of the Muda River for further evidence and has discovered not only Australo-Melanesoid skeletal remains and Hoabinhian palaeoliths but also probably another race and many ground neolithic axes of a type, of which hitherto only a few isolated specimens had been found, one in Selangor, one in Bangka, one in Java and one in one of the Selayar Islands near Celebes. So far this axe with its groove for a rattan handle finds its nearest parallel in a

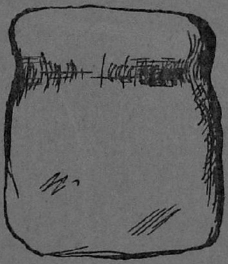


Fig. 3. Neolithic axe from Guak Kepah.

Mongolian type. Its neolithic form suggests that it was brought south by a later wave of immigrants of a race other than the Australo-Melanesoid. The confused heaping of skulls and bones at Guak Kepah prove that all the inhabitants of these shell-heaps practised secondary burial, exposing their dead until decay enabled them to bury skull and bones in one small pile:—other and earlier Hoabinhian sites have revealed only skeletons lying on their sides

with up-drawn knees. Whereas everywhere else the whole corpse is ruddled, here the red shale powder was strewn only on the skulls. All the evidence points to the ancestors of the Papuans and Australian aborigines having passed down the Malay Peninsula, leaving remains in these shell-heaps and in Perak caves and physical characteristics in Malaya's aborigines.

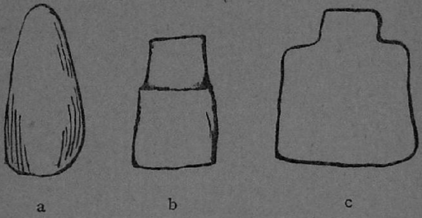


Fig. 4. Malaysian neoliths not found in Malaya.

Next we come to later pure neolithic civilisations when polished tools entirely took the place of chipped. The earliest neolithic culture of the Far East is marked by stone arrowheads and spread from Japan to Java without reaching the continent of Asia. So Malaya has not produced these neolithic arrow-heads of the lowest layer in Java's Sampoeng cave (arrowheads found also in the Philippines and Celebes); nor has it produced the sharp-necked Dravidian axe of India, Japan, Celebes and Guam, which has in cross-section the shape of an ellipse or lens and from its present-day use in New Guinea is sometimes called the Papuan axe (Fig. 4*a*); nor the "Philippine" adze with back cut away for the insertion of the shaft, a type found in Hongkong, Celebes and Polynesia (Fig. 4*b*). Perhaps the users of these types entered the archipelago only from the east. But the neolithic types that occur in the west, in Sumatra, Java and Bali, these are abundant in Malaya's rice-fields and near her river-banks. A particularly fine deposit was revealed on the Tembeling in Pahang by the flood of 1926. This deposit contained neoliths of slate with a cutting edge (Fig. 5)

hitherto found only here and (Dr. Callenfels tells me) in Celebes and therefore at present a puzzle.

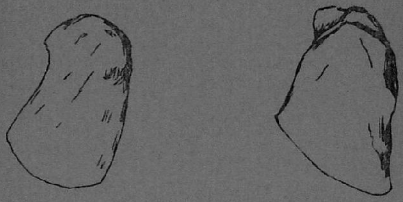


Fig. 5. Cutting tools from Nyong, Pahang.

In the later of the neolithic cultures the axe is unknown through almost the whole of south-east Asia and only the adze is used. The axe has a knife, the adze a chisel edge; the axe is set longitudinally, the adze latitudinally to the handle. Malaya knows only two specimens of the dented high-shouldered neolithic adze (Fig. 4*c*) found in the Philippines, in Indo-China, in Burma, in Assam Orissa and Chota-Nagpore in northern India and in the Munda district of south India. Formerly the type was held to be coincident with the area of an Austroasiatic language family but the finding in Indo-China of skulls Australoid, Melanesoid, Indonesian and Negrito has led Dr. G. de Hevesy (identifier of the Easter Island script with the script of Mohenjo-Daro) to question the existence of such a family and to anticipate the ultimate discovery of several language families. There must have been wave after wave of races and languages and it looks as if the high-shouldered adze marks a wave of Indonesian culture that swept through India from the Further East later than the Indonesian wave which about 2000 B.C. carried the pointed neolithic but not the high-shouldered adze throughout Malaya down to Sumatra, Java and Bali.

How the megalithic culture of primitive and backward tribes like the Mundas of Chota Nagpore* and the Nagas of Assam ever

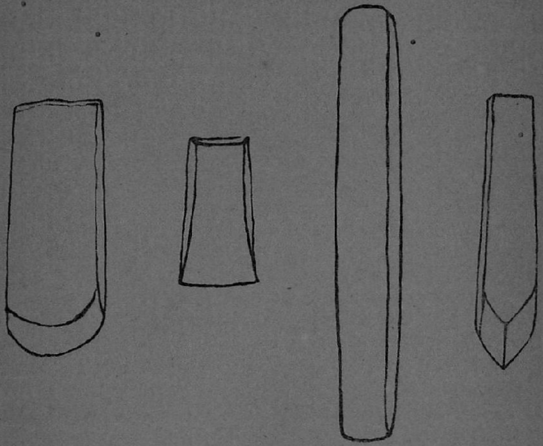


Fig. 6. Neolithic types common in Malaya.

reached Malaysia is a puzzle. But the event took place and the closest relation is with the megaliths of the Nagas. Three types of megalithic civilisation exist in south east Asia.

The first type uses a dolmen as a grave Till now this prehistoric type has been found only in east Java, where the dolmen partly developes into a stone sarcophagus. As dolmen it spread to the Lesser Sunda Islands, where the dolmen is still used as a grave for heads of tribes. The stone sarcophagus of the bronze stage also occurs in Bali. Although so far not a single dolmen has

* *Note.*—Attempts to build any theory of earlier migration from India only on the kinship between the script of Easter Island and that of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro are premature in the absence of further corroborative evidence from Malaysia. Dr. Paul Rivet, of course, claims to have found a Sumerian element in Oceanian languages and Sir Elliot Smith Egyptian influence in the banners of Alur Islands. But at present these are isolated phenomena that await scientific explanation.

been methodically excavated, the contents of several have been sent to the Batavian Museum by Dutch officials who had encountered them when new roads were being cut or canals dug, and the contents have always been implements of stone and bronze. Until now no iron has been got from the dolmen used as a grave. The absence of iron and the existence of the dolmen grave in east Java and its survival further east point to it as a relic of the first of the megalithic civilisations to enter the Archipelago.

The second type of megalithic civilisation uses the dolmen not for burial but for monuments in honour of dead chiefs or venerated ancestors. How the builders of these monuments buried their dead is unknown. The dolmen is still erected as a monument to the dead in Nias.

The third type built slab graves such as are common in the Pasemah highlands of Palembang in the south-east of Sumatra, in the Philippines and in Perak. In central Java they occur at Djokja and Tjepu. In all slab-graves iron is found, suggesting as we shall see that they belong to the youngest megalithic civilisation.

The three types are clear but there are several archaeological puzzles. Through Malaya, Sumatra, Java and the Lesser Sunda Islands down to Flores upright stones or menhirs and rows of such, called alignments, are erected to the memory of deceased ancestors. It is not yet possible to decide to which of the three types of megalithic civilisations these menhirs and alignments belong. In the Pasemah highlands they are associated with slab-graves but probably the men who built dolmens for burials and those who erected them as monuments knew menhirs and alignments too. Of these menhirs there is an example in Malaya at Tebong estate near Batang Malaka and there are many at Alur Gajah, also in the settlement of Malacca, where they are said by the modern Malays to grow and are called the "live stones," while it is quite possible that study of the many sacred places in Negri Sembilan may reveal more. Probably the Pangkalan Kempas stones (Plate XVIII) were originally menhirs. But the most important megalithic remains yet known from Malaya are at Berhala Lima, near Kota Baharu in Kelantan. The monument, which clearing may show to

be a dolmen grave, appears to consist of two large upright stones surrounded by a few others. To the north and south of the central group are rows of huge boulders forming alignments. To the north of the central group is a "seat of honour" for the ancestral spirit, in whose honour the whole group was raised. Such seats never occur in Europe but have been found among the Nagas and on the island of Nias off Sumatra. A dolmen memorial stone and menhirs in alignment would indicate that Berhala Lima was erected by the second wave of megalith-builders who, as we shall see, entered Malaya and the Archipelago about 300 B.C. Or the clearing of the central group may reveal a burial site, relic of the last of the three waves, which wave interred its dead in underground slab-graves and stone sarcophagi, that from the presence of iron implements can hardly antedate the Christian era, seeing how late bronze was in common use.

Slab-graves have been found in Perak at Slim, at Sungkai and at Changkat Mantri on the Bernam river—one has been rebuilt in the garden of Taiping Museum. With them have been found not

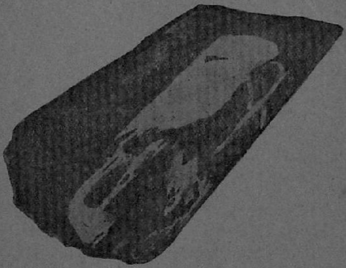


Fig. 7. Slab grave from Sungkai, Perak.

only cornelian beads, cross-hatched stone pounders, rough pottery, bronze utensils but iron socketted tools. These iron tools have been

unearthed also at Klang (along with a bronze bell-like object), at Tanjong Rambutan and Sengat in Kinta, and at Bengkong in

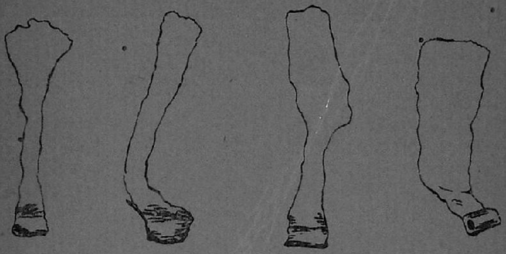


Fig. 8. Malayan types of prehistoric iron tools.

Batang Padang. At Bukit Jong on the Tembeling river (Pahang) close to a stone quoit-disc, a cross-hatched stone pounder, cord-marked pottery and fragments of bronze, were discovered thirteen

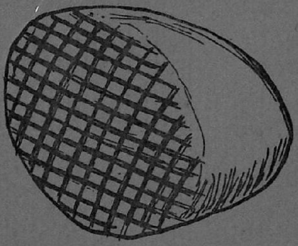


Fig. 9. Cross-hatched stone pounder.

iron tools including a spear-head and several of these socketted implements. From the wash-boxes of Kenaboi mine at Jelebu have come two similar quoit-discs, a long neolith and two bronze axes resembling specimens from Rasa and Tanjong Malim and Indo-China. Two points must be noted. Firstly though iron was known, yet as late as the Han dynasty (206 B.C.—220 A.D.) bronze was still used in China for weapons, so that Malaya's iron tools may

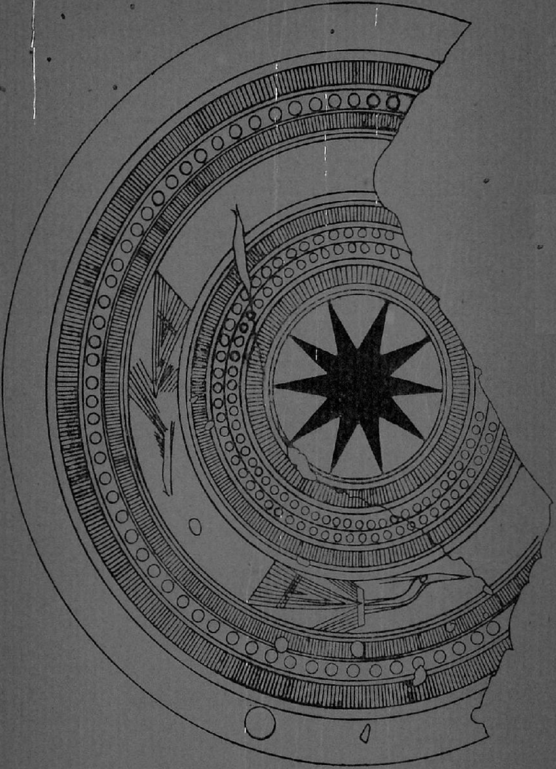


Fig 10. Tympanum of Indonesian drum from Pahang.

have come like its megaliths from India. Secondly the association of Malaya's Indian megaliths with purely Indonesian bronze is a lucky chronological coincidence, enabling us to date the megaliths. Various Indonesian bronze objects and carvings of drums from Pasemah in south Sumatra resemble ancient types from Indo-China, where at Dong-son in the province of Thanh-hoa graves gave up some twenty ceremonial bronze drums along with other bronze objects belonging to the Han period, a sword and coins that date the graves not earlier than 50 A.D. Dr. Callenfels considers the Dong-son drums already decadent and puts the beginning of Indo-China's bronze period about 500 B.C. and the beginning of the bronze period of the Archipelago about 300 B.C.

Besides Indonesian neoliths the Tembeling river in Pahang has given up the tympanum of one of these ancient ceremonial drums common in Java as in Tonkin, while a mould for their manufacture has been found in Bali. At Pasemah two different megaliths have carved representations of these bronze drums: in one the drum is carried by warriors on an elephant, in the other it is between two men on a buffalo. The figures have "round eyes, flattened nose-base, short broad nose, prognathic jaws, a large mouth with extremely thick lips and a pronounced angle to the lower jaws." These carved megaliths appear to be Indonesian and to show no Hindu influence direct or indirect. In Tonkin where also they are associated with socketted bronzes, neoliths, cord-marked pottery and shanks of wrought iron, these drums bear designs of magic boats identical with those still used for Dayak funerals, of figures pounding rice, of figures blowing a peculiar Dayak musical pipe and of birds identical with those on the Tembeling and Java gongs. The Dayaks, of course, are Indonesians. All the evidence so far points to a prehistoric period of Indonesian art, whose destiny it was to produce its consummate flower under Hindu influence.

So, on their arrival the Hindus found no race of savages. The study of beads has traced trade with the Archipelago back to the overland route across Asia followed centuries later by Marco Polo. In a dolmen in east Java of the third century B.C. have been unearthed blue Greek beads with white eyes that belong to the sixth century before Christ. With them were found no beads of semi-

precious stones, such as later came in abundance and always from India; while imitations of these Greek beads were made in ancient China. These two facts go to show that Greek beads, like the Malay, reached the Archipelago from Yunnan. Some late neolithic chisels must have been designed for wood-carving, and already the Indonesians of the Celebes had developed that liking for carving seen today in the typical Indonesian homes of the Dayak and the Batak. The Indonesian was already a carver in stone and a worker in bronze; he worshipped bulls and so knew enough of agriculture to keep domestic cattle and irrigate rice-fields, while, as we have said, perhaps some thousand years B.C. the Proto-Malay knew enough of seamanship and stars to find his way to India in outrigger boats*. Such pursuits and such traffic postulate an organized society.

* *Note.*—The linguistic evidence suggests that it was not till the Hindu period the Malay reached Madagascar but there may have been earlier waves.

II

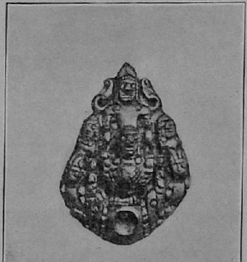
THE HINDU PERIOD.

i.

PALLAVA INFLUENCE.

Further study of beads found at Kuala Selinsing in Perak, in Java, Borneo, Celebes and the Philippines may corroborate Chinese accounts of Indian voyagers carrying their wares to China as far back as the 7th century B.C. and prove that the old Indian trade with the Malay archipelago in beads of cornelian and other semi-precious stones (stopped only by the Portuguese capture of Malacca) antedated by centuries the coming of Hindus at the beginning of the Christian era. Not only have ancient Greek beads been discovered in a dolmen in Java but Roman trade beads are common in the Celebes.

There is no evidence that the arrival of Hindus in the Malay world was sudden or violent or overhelming. A ship or so came with the monsoon to exchange beads and magic amulets for gold, tin, ivory, camphor and those rare medicines, rhinoceros-horns and bezoars, the latter stone-like agglomerates of salts found in coconut, jack-fruit and bamboo, snake, pig, monkey and dragon, and universally esteemed as antidotes against plague and poison. Here and there a passenger practised magic, that proved potent in love or war or disease. Another won regard as a warrior. Some married local brides. Priests came and taught a new ritual in Sanskrit, awe-inspiring, as Arabic was to be later, because it was unintelligible to the multitude. For daily speech the newcomers, evidently because they were sparse, adopted the languages of Malaysia and introduced very few words of their own colloquial Prakrit. In time a few married into leading Indonesian families and brought Hindu ideas of kingship, just as more than a thousand years later Muslim Tamils married into the families of the Sultans and Bendaharas of Malacca. The coming of the Hindu appears to have been very similar to the later arrival of the Muslim from India and the Hadramaut, the Brahmin and Kshatriya taking the place to be usurped by the Sayid. Buddhist priests also came, among them



A Pallava inscription from Cherok Tokun, Province Wellesley; a Pallava seal from Kuala Selinsing, Perak and a ring from Kuala Selinsing.

Gunavarman, a Kashmiri prince who in the fifth century A.D. visited Java and made many converts to Hinayana Buddhism before in 431 he died at Nankin.

Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula both furnished ports of nearest call on the way to the Further East and perhaps the isthmus of Kra provided the first route to Champa (in Annam) where the earliest Indian inscriptions, relics of the third century A.D., have been found. The first traders of historical time came from the country of the Pallavas, that Coromandel coast whose ships have continued to visit Kedah and Penang until today. These southern Indians brought their own Pallava alphabet, used Sanskrit for their inscriptions and were followers of Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu. In the fourth century A.D. this Pallava civilisation left Brahmin sacrificial posts at Kutai in east Borneo, Saiva inscriptions in Champa and Cambodia, and Buddhist inscriptions in Kedah and in Province Wellesley which before 1800 was a part of Kedah. Under the floor of a ruined brick building ten to twelve feet square near Bukit Meriam was unearthed a slate slab with a Buddhist inscription in Sanskrit and the oldest Pallava alphabet:—

"The Laws which arise from a cause, Tathagata told about that, and what is their suppression has thus been told by the great Sramana.

"Action (*karma*) accumulates through lack of knowledge. Action is the cause of re-birth. Through knowledge (of the nature of things) it comes about that no action is effected, and through absence of action (one) is not born (again)."

The Buddhist verse and the smallness of the floor space suggest the ancient building was the cell of a monk. Another Pallava inscription of the same date or older occurs on a stone dug up in the north of Province Wellesley. This stone seemed to have been part of a column. On it was represented a *stupa*, the under-part formed by a sphere instead of the usual hemisphere, while above the sphere rose a row of so-called umbrellas. The inscription is identical with the second verse of the Bukit Meriam slab but along the edge is added "(the gift) of Buddhagupta, the great

sailor, whose abode was at Raktamrttika" or Red Earth. Probably the stone was the gift of a pious sailor to a temple. This may have been "the Buddhist temple in Province Wellesley," where Colonel James Low found a small coffee-pot carefully built up with bricks four or five feet below the surface—"the lid was firmly baked, but on being handled, the vessel crumbled slowly to pieces—within it was found the figure of a fowl constructed of thin silver wire, which also fell to pieces on being handled. But the bill and feet were perfect, being made of an alloyed metal, chiefly gold." And "amid some ruins of ancient temples in Province Wellesley," Low also found a bronze dish ornamented in alto-relievo with a Buddhist inscription in Sanskrit.

On the Tarum, principal river of west Java, Pallava immigrants left four rock-inscriptions of the middle of the fifth century, one of them commemorating the carved footprints of a royal elephant, three of them dedicated to Purnavarman, Brahmin king of Taruma, wearer of impenetrable armour, destroyer of cities and builder of a canal. Taruma, named perhaps after Tarumapura ten miles north of Cape Comorin, was like Selinsing on the Perak coast a centre for the Indian bead trade. Along the beach near Kuala Selinsing have been picked up hundreds of cornelian, glass (or paste) and shell beads, portions of bracelets in stone and in blue green glass, some pottery and cross-hatched pottery stamps. The commonest types of glass-beads are opaque yellow, opaque blue, opaque green, clear blue, clear yellow, dark red, and orange paste with dark-red striations. One type has "a core of non-translucent yellowish paste, plated with gold-leaf which is covered with clear yellow glass." Selinsing and Taruma date back to times before history and probably existed for centuries. In a hole left by the roots of a fallen tree was found at Selinsing a cornelian seal engraved with the words Sri Vishnuvarmmasya in Pallava characters of the seventh century A.D. or later. The seventh and the eighth centuries saw the Pallavas at the height of their power. Perhaps it was the Ganga-Pallavas who gave the name of Ganga-Nagara to a settlement near the Dindings a little above the Perak river, destined according to Malay tradition to be destroyed by the Chola raids of the eleventh century.

At Cherok Tokun in Province Wellesley Colonel Low discovered rock inscriptions, still extant, one nearly in the same type of Pallava characters as the Buddhagupta inscription, another reminiscent of sixth century script in inscriptions of the Deccan and Cambodia. As a seventh century halting place on the way to Tamralipti in India the Chinese traveller I-tsing mentions Kichthcha which may be Kedah.

For the most famous kingdom in Malaya lay probably where Kedah and Ligor lie today. The word Langkasuka now survives only as the name of a tributary to an upper reach of the Perak river, but at Sungai Batu, not far from Kuala Merbok and at the foot of Kedah Peak, there have been found a statue of Durga triumphing over Mahishahura in the form of a bull, the head of Nandi Shiva's bull and a *yoni,* while on the peak itself is an unidentified structure of cut granite and bricks that have been carried 4,000 feet up a mountain that has abundance of sand-stone. The "Kedah Annals" relate that Sri Mahawangsa, a ruler of Kedah, removed to Serokam from Langkasuka, because the latter was too far from the sea. According to Chinese chronicles Buddhist Lang-ya-sieu was founded about 100 A.D., boasted of walled towns and produced much aloe-wood and camphor oil. Its people had long hair and went bare to the waist but wore a cotton skirt, while the king and nobles affected thin flowered shawls, gold girdles and gold earrings. The king went abroad on an elephant, seated under a white howdah and escorted by soldiers, drummers and followers carrying fans and banners. One of the princes had lived in India as an exile and had married the daughter of an Indian king. His son Po'-ch'o-to (or Bagadatta according to Dr. Krom) sent an envoy A'-ch'o-to to China in 515 with a letter extolling Buddhism. Other missions to China are recorded in 523, 531 and 568. About 692 A.D. I-tsing writes of Lang-ka-su; a Negapatam inscription of 1005 A.D. speaks of Langasogam and a Tanjore inscription of 1030 mentions Ilanggasogam "tameless in terrible battles." The Buddhist Chau-Ju-Kua mentions a Lang-ya-si in the twelfth or thirteenth century. Modern scholars accept all these place-names as variants of Langkasuka and (rejecting an identification with Johor) place this state in northern Malaya. It outlived

the period of southern Indian influence, which by the eighth century was passing. A Sanskrit inscription dated 760 A.D. and found at Dinaya to the east of central Java is already in Kawi script, a Javanese development of the Pallava alphabet. But in the seventh century, just before Pallava influence waned, India had sent a strong wave of Hindu immigrants, fleeing perhaps from war and disturbance, who for the first time substituted for thatch and wood the stone temples that on the Dieng plateau in Java have survived to this day.

ii.

THE EMPIRE OF SRI VIJAYA—INCLUDING THE MALAY PENINSULA.

The next wave of Indian influence was from the north and brought the Nagari script, a revival of Sanskrit and Mahayana to replace Hinayana Buddhism. It was from Bengal and Magadha that Sumatra, Java and Cambodia eventually got that blend of Mahayana Buddhism with Saiva rites and Tantric orgies, which at once shocked men's minds and inclined them to mysticism, making ready the path for Islam. Was there any one Malayan centre of its distribution?

From the fifth century A.D. the Chinese annals mention a place Kan-da-li or Kan-t'o-li, which even the most recent criticism places in Sumatra. Kan-t'o-li was situated in the southern sea; its customs and manners were about the same as those of Cambodia and Siam. It produced excellent areca-nuts. One of its kings, Iswaranarendra sent an Indian envoy, Rudra, with valuable presents of gold and silver to Hia-wu, an emperor who ruled China from 454 to 464 A.D. In 502 Kan-t'o-li's ruler was a Buddhist, Gautama Subhadra, who was succeeded by his son Priyavarman or Vijaya-varman. Both these "barbarians" sent "tribute" not from any sense of duty, but, as a Chinese chronicler remarked 800 years later, "because they sought the advantages of trade and the imperial presents." "Tribute" was also sent by Kan-t'o-li in 519, 520 and 563. In Sanskrit Kandali means "banana."

Early in the Christian era Hinduised Sumatrans colonized Madagascar and introduced their own language, so that modern

Buddha from Pangkalan, Ipoh, Perak.

Malagasy has helped in the interpretation of a seventh century Bangka inscription of Sri Vijaya and just before 1154 (when the Arab Idrisi published his famous *Book of Roger*) sailors from Zabug, which may be identical with Sri Vijaya, could still understand Malagasy when they traded with the distant island.

For in 644 Chinese records (the *Ts'o fou yuan kouei*) refer to Mo-ho-sin (still unidentified), and to Mo-lo-che or Malayu which may be old Jambi, and a few years later they speak of Che-li Fo-che alias Sen Fo-ts'i alias San-bo-tsai which Ming chronicles (1368–1643) aver was "formerly called Kan-t'o-li." Che-li Fo-che has been identified by a distinguished French scholar, Dr. G. Coedès, with an ancient empire, (whose capital in 683 A.D. was Palembang) namely Sri Vijaya, which empire is generally accepted as the Sribuza or Zabug of Arab geographers. From 670 until 741 Che-li Fo-che was sending envoys to China,—once in 724 its crown prince, Kumara, with a present of negro or negrito girls. Quitting Canton in 671, the Chinese Buddhist, I'tsing, spent six months at its capital studying Sanskrit and two months at Malayu "that now is a country of Che-li Fo-che." After studying for a decade at Bengal's Buddhist university, Nalanda, I'tsing twice again visited that capital, bringing the second time in 691 four assistants to help copy sacred books. The place had more than a thousand monks, while Chinese studied there a year or so before going on to India in local ships that carried among other produce camphor and gold. This empire of Che-li Fo-che alias San-fo-ts'i, if it is Sri Vijaya, has left memorials in three important Malay inscriptions of the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. One discovered on the Tatang river at the foot of a Mount Seguntang in Palembang bears witness to the founding of a capital of Sri Vijaya there in 683 A.D. with magic rites. Another on the Jambi river bears witness that Sri Vijaya ruled that province of Sumatra. A third, still in Pallava characters, from Kota Kapor on the island of Bangka, records a visit there in 686 of the forces of Sri Vijaya on their way to attack "Java." To the Chinese Che-li Fo-che ranked at this time with India, Persia, Arabia, Cambodia and Java. And an eighth century bronze Buddha of Sri Vijaya type, that is, similar to Buddhas found in the Palembang

river, has been dredged up at Pangkalan in Kinta, Perak, along with a bronze throne for a seated figure, while a Sanskrit inscription on the Bay of Bandon at Vat Sema Muang in Ligor records the erection in 775 A.D. of Buddhist buildings by order of a king of Sri Vijaya.

Another face of the same Ligor stele, entirely independent of that containing the reference to a king of Sri Vijaya, mentions a king called Sri Maharaja to signify his descent from the Sailendras, namely the "kings of the mountain." What was the history of this dynasty? An Indian scholar, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, connects its origin with the Saila and Sailodbhava dynasties of Kalinga in Orissa. And Coedès notes how for the first six centuries A.D. the emperors of Fu-nan in Indo-China bore the title of Kings of the Mountain or Sailaraja. Then in the eighth century Sailendra kings appear as rulers of Middle Java in inscriptions at Kalasan (778 A.D.), and Kelurak (782 A.D.). In 764 men from the Malay archipelago raided Tonkin, in 774 a Cham temple was burnt by "foreigners, sea-farers, eaters of inferior food, of frightful appearance, extraordinarily black and thin"; in 787 another Cham temple was burnt by men from "Java," and in 775, as we have seen, there was a Sailendra in Ligor. Were these wars conducted by Javanese Sailendras trying to regain their ancestors' empire of Funan? The Arab, Ibn Khordadzbeh (844–8) speaks of Zabug the kingdom of the "Maharaja" as including Kilah, perhaps Kedah perhaps Kra, on the west coast of Malaya, a port famous for tin and bamboo, whose people were Buddhists. But even this and the Ligor inscription of 775 A.D. do not directly connect the Sailendras with the kingdom of Sri Vijaya. Zabug may stand for Sumatra or possibly for Java or for a kingdom in north Malaya.

By 863 the Sailendra dynasty, patrons of music and builders of Kalasan, Mendut and Borobudur, had lost the kingdom of middle Java. But the beginning of the next century again saw envoys sent by San-fo-ts'i to China, while Arab chronicles reiterate what the trader Sulaiman (851) recorded, that Kalah (identified with Kedah) was subject to Zabug, the kingdom of the Maharaja, whose trade in cloves, sandal-wood and nutmegs, in ivory, ebony

and gold, in camphor from Barus and tin from Malaya attracted ships from Siraj and Oman and made its Maharaja as rich and mighty as any king in the Indies: in two years the swiftest ship could not visit all the islands of his dominion. Before the end of the tenth century stores were opened at Canton, Hang-chou and Ming-chou for traders who came from Arabia, Kedah, San-fo-ts'i and various places in the Archipelago to exchange perfumes and drugs, ivory, coral, amber, pearls, tortoise-shell, rock-crystal, ebony and woven cloths for gold, silver, lead, porcelain and other wares of China. In 963 a Chinese pilgrim Fah-yu, returning from India, was seeking sacred books at the capital of San-fo-ts'i and at Ko-kulo, a place on the west of the Malay Peninsula, perhaps north of Kedah, while in Trang, Jaya and Badalung and nine feet below the surface of a Kedah cave have been found Buddhist tablets in the Sanskrit language and Nagari script of the tenth century, perhaps the local work of Mahayana hermits. In 992 an expedition against San-bo-tsai from East Java, then the site of supreme power in that island, failed to interrupt its China trade, and in 1007 apparently Sri Vijaya burnt its Javanese enemy's capital and slew its king and many of his chiefs.

Were the "Maharajas" of Zabag or Zabug really identical with the rulers of Sri Vijaya? Was Sri Vijaya Palembang and were the rulers of Palembang Sailendras? The Sailendras or "kings of the mountain" called themselves Sri Maharaja, a title ascribed to Hindu rulers of Singapore and Malacca. Those rulers of Malacca and their descendants have always claimed to be descendants of a dynasty foreign to Sumatra but connected with the sacred Mahameru of the *Malay Annals*, the mountain Seguntang in Palembang, near which the Pallava inscription of 683 A.D. records the founding of a capital of Sri Vijaya. As late as 1405 Parameswara, the founder of Malacca, sent envoys to the Emperor of China requesting that "his mountains might be made guardians of the country. The emperor gave his assent: he prepared an inscription with a piece of verse at the end, and ordered a tablet to be erected on those mountains." But the *Malay Annals* have adapted Sumatran folklore to Javanese rulers, who on the historical evidence came from Majapahit (p. 39 *infra*). And the only

royalties in Malaya probably sprung by male descent from the ancient dynasty of Sri Vijaya are not the rulers of old Malacca (and their descendants the Sultans of Perak) but the Yam-tuans of Negri Sembilan, scions of the great house of Minangkabau. Anyhow Sumatran folklore connects Palembang with a mountain dynasty.

III.

THE DECAY OF SRI VIJAYA BEFORE CHOLA RAIDS, THE REVOLT OF MALAYU (JAMBI) AND ATTACKS FROM SUKHODAYA AND MAJAPAHIT.

There is clear evidence that before its decay Sri Vijaya was ruled by a prince of the "dynasty of the mountains." A copper-plate partly in Sanskrit (1044) and partly in Tamil (1046) records how in 1005 A.D. a Sailendra king gave a village to a Buddhist shrine built at Negapatam by his father, Culamanivarman: in the Sanskrit inscription, as also in the Sung annals, their names are given, and the son Sri Maravijayottungavarman "a ray-garlanded sun in the lotus groves of the wise" is styled "king of Kataha and Srivishaya"; in the Tamil text Kataha is called Kadara or Kidara and there is little doubt that Kataha and Kadara stand for Kedah. For six hundred years or more Kedah had been a port of call for ships from Chola-mandala or, as it is corrupted, Coromandel. But now as early as 1017 A.D. Coromandel's famous ruler, Rajendracola I, was to make war on Sri Vijaya and her colonies in Malaya: perhaps the raids were prompted by trade rivalry, perhaps by the ambition of a dynasty that had eclipsed the Pallavas and conquered Orissa. In 1025 A.D. this Chola king overwhelmed many of the states included in the Sailendra empire of San-fo-ts'i by Chinese authorities like Chau-Ju-Kua. A Tanjore inscription of 1030 commemorates this victory over Kadaram (or Kedah), Sri Vijaya, Malayur with a fort on a hill, Lamuri in Acheh, the Nicobars; over Langkasuka, Talaithakolam (Ptolemy's Takola) and Great Tamralingga, all three in the north of the Malay Peninsula; over Mayirudinggam or Ji-lo-t'ing, also probably in that same region, and finally over Mappappalam "defended by deep waters" and Mewilimbanggam "defended by fair walls," the two

last places identified with no certainty as Pahang and a province on the isthmus of Kra. According to the *Malay Annals* a Tamil king, Raja " Cholan " or " Suran " destroyed Gangga-nagara at the Dindings and a black fort on the Lenggiu, a tributary of the Johor river, and occupied Tumasik or old Singapore. Is the Malay folk-tale of an attack on Singapore by sword-fish reminiscent of this Chola raid? The shark was the Tamil god of coastal waters and his snout symbolized that terrible deity in the ritual of fishermen-worshippers.

If Sri Vijaya is identical with San-fo-ts'i, a few years later she was again sending envoys to China, while Arabs still described Zabug, empire of the Maharaja, as the greatest in the Malayan region. Then in 1068 another Chola king Wira Rajendra conquered Sri Vijaya and " Kadaram " again, but had to restore Kedah to its ruler who " worshipped his conqueror's ankletted feet," " as it was too far beyond the sounding seas " to hold. Still San-fo-ts'i sent envoys to China, taking camphor, silver and pearls, receiving presents and titles and buying golden girdles and purple robes for Buddhist monks. Chola envoys also went there, but in 1106, according to Ma-tuan-lin, the Chola king was a vassal of San-fo-ts'i and it was remembered how between 1068 and 1077, it was thought enough on that account to write to their king on a strong paper with envelope of plain silk because his country had been conquered by San-fo-ts'i. In 1178 the Chinese emperor ordered that in future the envoys from San-fo-ts'i should not come to court but make an establishment at Ch'uan-chou in the province of Fukien. The embassies had always been commercial and in search of trade concessions, and now apparently San-fo-ts'i was almost insignificant.

For, so far as can be gathered from scattered inscriptions, the glory of Sri Vijaya, a Venice of the East, had passed. San-fo-ts'i had started as a port of call for junks from China and ships from India, " an important thoroughfare on the sea-routes of the foreigners on their way to and from China," where the goods of the Far East were bartered for the goods of India and of her own hinterland. Rich on international commerce, she attracted traders, scholars, adventurers and the sharks that always infest

great ports. Her people were tax-free. But with success came greed and dynastic ambitions and weakling kings and wars of trade and religion. As early as the tenth century, the Sung chronicles explain that "when they have a war, they at once select a chief to lead them, and everybody provides his own arms and provisions." Wars became frequent. Monopoly had to be maintained and trade rivalry to be fought. As in Malacca afterwards, the character of the people changed. Quoting an authority fifty years old Chao Ju-Kua records in 1225:—"if a merchant ship passes by without entering, their boats go forth to make a combined attack, and all are ready to die (in the attempt). This is the reason why this country is a great shipping centre." Wars kill off the men of greatest enterprise. Monopoly is more exciting than fair trade and utterly demoralizing. It passes easily into piracy. In time the people of San-fo-ts'i left agriculture and honest work to the Chinese, until the Chinese themselves became demoralized and the capital of the great empire sank to be a den of pirates.

In 1178 Chou Ku-fei put Java before San-fo-ts'i. As Coedès has pointed out, the description of San-fo-ts'i by Chau Ju-Kua in 1225 was copied from this older author Chou Ku-fei and antedates her last (1178) embassy to China; and though Chau Ju-Kua's list of her dependencies does not occur in the list given by Chou Ku-fei, yet it includes Palembang but makes no mention of Malayu, an omission suggesting that not Palembang but Malayu or Jambi was now head of the empire. Besides Palembang that list gives as dependencies Kelantan, Pahang, Trengganu, Langkasuka, Ligor, Jelutong, Foloan (the islands of an unidentified delta) Grahi, Lamuri in Acheh, Kampe on the bay of Aru and Ceylon. Already by 1183 according to an inscription on a Buddha at Grahi, Jaiya (now in Siamese Malaya) had a ruler bearing the hereditary title not of the kings of Sri Vijaya but of her successor Malayu or Jambi. It was the destiny of Jambi not to have an empire overseas but to turn to Sumatra's highlands and found the kingdom of Minangkabau. And a Jaiya inscription of 1230 suggests that by then Ligor was ruled not by any overlord from Sri Vijaya or from Jambi, but by a king of its own, Candrabhanu, who lived at Nagara Sridharmaraja, capital of Tembralinga; and it was this

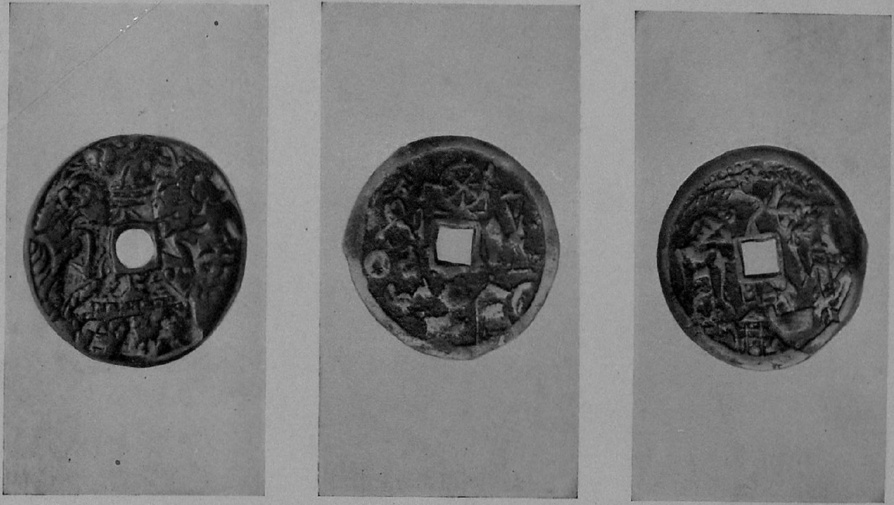
Candrabhanu who attacked Ceylon first in 1236 and, friendly with the king of Hinayana Sukhodaya, probably threw off the yoke of Mahayana Jambi and then, allied with the kings of Pandya, certainly failed in an attack on Ceylon in 1256. Pandya inscriptions indicate that Candrabhanu ruled Kadaram, that is Kedah, without which he would have lacked a port on the Bay of Bengal for his attempt to wrest Buddha's tooth from Ceylon.

Not only did Jambi or the Malayu country lose Ligor. In 1275 the famous Krtanagara, ruler of east Java from Singhasari, sent from Tuban his Javanese forces against Pamalayu, namely Sumatra, and according to an inscription in Jambi of 1286 this descendant of a peasant conquered Pamalayu and its king Srimat Tribhuwanaraja Mauliwarmadewa, while the *Nagarakrtagama* makes Pahang also subject to him.

Trouble came upon Sumatra from a new quarter, Gujerat. As early as 1281 Malayu was using as envoys to China traders with Muslim names, Sulaiman and Shamsu'd-din; in 1292 Marco Polo found Perlak in north Sumatra Muslim and before the death of its founder, Malik al-Saleh, in 1297, Samudra also had broken away as a Muhammadan state.

However the final blow to Jambi, the inheritor of Sri Vijaya, was to be dealt not by proselytizers of the new religion but by her old enemy Java. Some time between 1338 and 1365 Majapahit conquered Jambi, Palembang, Minangkabau, in fact all Sumatra. After 1377 San-fo-ts'i became gradually poorer and sent no tribute to China any more. By 1397 its name was changed to Ku-kang "Old River." "When San-fo-ts'i went down, the whole country was disturbed, and the Javanese could not keep all the land; for this reason the Chinese, who were established there, stood up for themselves, and a man from Namhoi in Canton, called Liang Tan-ming, who had lived there a long time and roamed over the sea, followed by several thousand men from Fukien and Canton, was taken by them as their chief." For nearly two hundred years Palembang remained in the hands of Chinese, who were many of them pirates. Such were the last days of the capital of a great empire.

Sumatra was not Majapahit's only conquest. It sacked many ports in Borneo, in Sumbawa, Ceram and Lombok. It claimed suzerainty over the Riau Archipelago, the Anambas and the Natuna Islands. Finally Majapahit subjected Sri Vijaya's colonies in the Malay Peninsula. Composed in 1365 the *Nagarâkrtagama* mentions among her dependencies Pahang, Ujong Medini (Johor), Langkasuka, Kelantan, Trengganu, Muar, Paka and Dungun (in Trengganu), Tumasik (or Singapore), Sang Yang Ujong (Sungai Ujong), Klang, Kedah and Jerai (near Kedah Peak). The "Chronicles of Pasai" add various islands off the east coast of the Peninsula, Pulau Laut, Tiuman, Pulau Tinggi, Pulau Pemanggil. Ayam Wuruk, ruler of Majapahit, was a conqueror and not a statesman. Content to sack, he made no attempt to colonize. But it is significant that Majapahit used the name Pahang for the whole of the Malay Peninsula and that the East Coast, especially Kelantan, is still the home of the Javanese shadow-play where the old Hindu gods (demigods and devils of the Muslim Malays), Brahma, Shiva, Arjuna, Sri Rama and the Bhutas come down and are present in their puppet portraits, until, the play ended, the gods fly up to Suralaya their heaven and Shiva descends to drive his army of evil spirits out of the great door of the palm-leaf theatre. Javanese too are the ritual of cleansing Kelantan and the homage paid to Hanuman when boys about to be circumcised are carried in procession in a huge Geroda. Among treasured heirlooms in Kelantan are still coin-like amulets with a hole in the centre, of Majapahit design. In Patani a Javanese pattern of creese has survived (Fig. 11). Two Buddhist seals from Goa Gambar in Pahang remind one of Javanese types, and as late as 1436 the Chinese found the people of Pahang offering human sacrifices to images of fragrant wood, apparently a form of Tantric worship of Kali the Hindu goddess of death, recorded also from Trengganu by Wang Ta-Yuan in 1349. But even here there was the little leaven of Islam. Twenty miles up the Trengganu river was discovered a stone fragment, the earliest contemporary record of Islamic influence in the Peninsula, with an inscription having the oldest Malay text in the Arabic script yet known. It records Muslim laws promulgated for the state by its ruler, who is styled Raja



Majapahit Amulets from Johor River.

Mandulika and Sri Paduka Tuhan:—its date, with which a Cancer year of the zodiac is involved, may be 1326 or 1386.

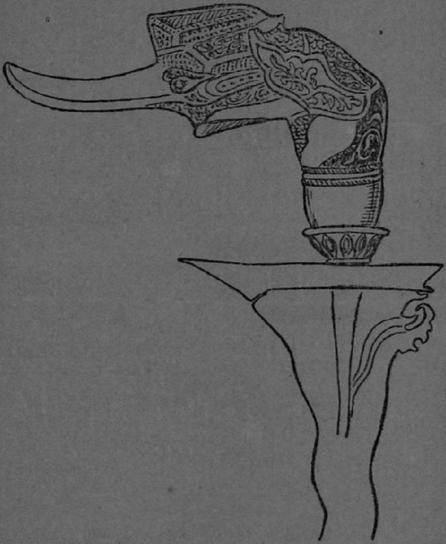


Fig. 11. Pokaka (?= Javanese puppet, Chikakak) hilt of Patani creese.

iv.

TUMASIK OR OLD SINGAPORE.

Just as Indian trade led to the rise of Kedah and other Malay States of the north, so China trade brought into being ancient Singapore. de Barros writing in 1553 relates that it was the resort not only of Indian shipping but of traders from China, Siam, Champa, Cambodia and the Malay Archipelago. Its modern importance, its claim to have been the first kingdom of the founder

of Malacca and the folk-tales associated with it in the *Malay Annals* have given the port kingdom a particular glamour and prominence, although the older and more important kingdoms lay in the north of the Peninsula. It was important enough in the fourteenth century to provide territorial titles for two non-resident Majapahit "princesses of Singapore," one unnamed, one named Sri Wardhanadewi. Writing in 1557 from his father's notes the bastard son of the great d'Albuquerque records "it was a large and populous town, as is attested by the great ruins visible still today." Crawfurd, Resident of Singapore from 1823 to 1826, traced the remains of its ancient boundaries: in front, the sea, at the back the Hill Tabu, now Fort Canning; on the west the Singapore river; on the east an earth wall sixteen feet broad at the base and eight or nine feet high running along the Bras Basah river. Roughly the walled port ran a mile inland and was just over half a mile broad.

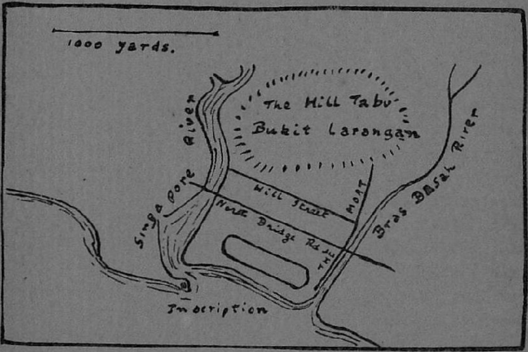


Fig. 12. Plan of Ancient Singapore.

It has been sought to identify ancient Singapore with I-tsing's (690 A.D.) "Mo-ho-sin," the "Hasin" or "Salt-Sea State" of an eleventh-century Javanese inscription, though it is almost certain that "Hasin" was in Java. Ibn Khordadzbeh (844-8) after mentioning Kilah or Kedah refers to Salahit or *Sĕlat*, the Malay

word for Straits, which vague description has been taken to denote the south of the Peninsula: certainly to this day it is a name for Singapore. Attempts to connect Marco Polo's Malayur with Singapore have hitherto not been accepted, though the latest translation from a revised text has already started a fresh effort and the problem must again receive the attention of geographers. "Not far from Pentan," that is Bintan or Bintang, south of Singapore, "there are two other islands.... Proceed between these two islands for 60 miles. The water is only about four paces deep, and big ships, when they pass through, must haul up their rudders, because they draw nearly four paces of water. After those sixty miles, one sails *to the south-east* for some 30 miles; then one reaches an island that forms a kingdom; both it and its capital are called Malaiur. They have a king and a language of their own. The city is very large and noble. There is a great deal of trade in spices and other wares. For there is great abundance in that island of such products"—the last sentence perhaps confusing the wares of an *entrepôt* with the produce of the land. Older versions read *again* instead of *to the south-east.* It is impossible for the new direction, if accurate, to point to Jambi, known though Jambi was as Malayu from the time of I-tsing (671) down to its conquest by Kertanagara (1286), but the new direction does fit well with the sheltered passage northwards from Bintan between the islands Batam and Bulang and with a tack back from the Carimons to Singapore in the north-east monsoon. Jambi, also, is called Malayur in the Tanjore inscription of 1030. Jambi's ruler lived on a hill much like Fort Canning (156 feet), where the Malay rulers of Singapore lived: the Jambi hill is about thirty feet high and lies on a cape between the Batang Hari river and a tributary of that river. Malay-ur is said to be a combination of two Tamil words meaning "hill-town." There is nothing puzzling about two or three similar hill-towns having the same name. To this day there is a Malayu River with a hill sixty-five feet high at its estuary on the south coast of Johor. There is also a Kampong Malayu on the Pahang river. There are innumerable places called Bandar meaning "port-town"; there is a Sri Menanti in Johor and another in Negri Sembilan and there are many places called Kota Baharu, the New Fort, while in Portuguese times there was

a hybrid Sanskrit-Portuguese place-name, Kota Kara (meaning Outer Fort), both in Riau and up the Johor river. Meaning perhaps " hill-town " at first, the term *Malayu* came to be descriptive of any spot where the Malays settled as newcomers, just as *Kampong Acheh* is a name for many an Achinese settlement. So Malayur could be applied to Jambi and Singapore and a Johor river. Better than Jambi, Singapore and Johor would fit the Ma-li-yu-eul of the annals of the Yuan dynasty, where under 1295 it is related how there had long been strife between the Siamese and the Ma-li-yu-eul, and an Imperial order had adjured the Siamese to keep their promise not to harm the Ma-li-yu-eul. No records associate Kertanagara, king of Tumapel, with Singapore in spite of the long campaign, which by 1286 made him victorious over the Malayu country, namely the Jambi that had usurped the empire of Sri Vijaya. Was his suzerainty over the island port implied in his recorded suzerainty over Pahang, which sometimes signified for Majapahit the Malay Peninsula? For in 1292 having intrigued with the invading forces of Kublai Khan, Majapahit triumphed over Tumapel and in less than a century took Tumasik, that is, Singapore.

The historian makes a sure land-fall at last when he comes to this fourteenth century Tumasik, so-called by Wang Ta-Yuan in 1349 and in the *Malay Annals*—probably anachronistically as having been " visited " by a Chola king after his conquest of Lenggiu on a tributary of the Johor river in the eleventh century! The history of ancient Singapore in those same annals is unfortunately only a hotch-potch of myths and tradition. The annalist gives a dynasty of five kings. The progenitor of the line bears the name of Sang Sapurba after a nymph of Indra's heaven, perhaps a corruption of Prabhu, a fourteenth century title of Majapahit princes; but criticism is hardly concerned with a male nymph who was credited with being the founder of the royal house of old Palembang and at the same time the son of Raja Suran, the Chola invader of the XIth century! As ruler of Palembang he styled himself Trimurti Tribuana! A son of his with the name of another nymph, Nila Utama, married the daughter of a Permaisuri queen of Bentan, and descrying Tumasik from a tall

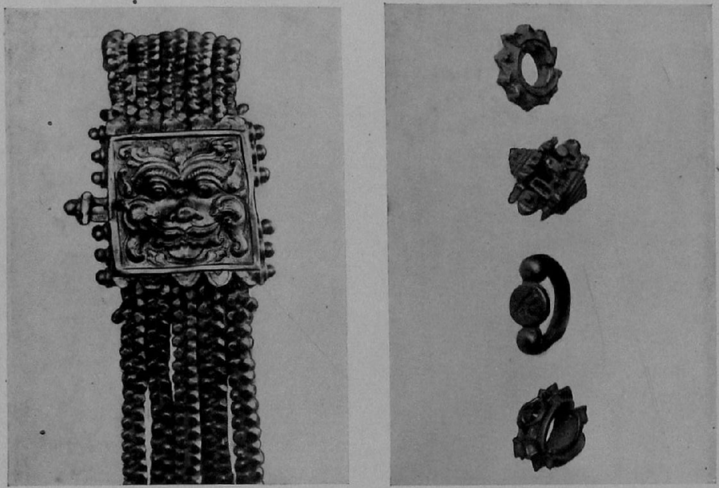
cliff, while hunting deer, crossed over, became its first king and changed its name to Singapura, styling himself Batara Sri Tribuana. The style Tribuana was best known as that of a queen of Majapahit (1329–50) but may refer to the three kings of Sri Vijaya to whom the Ming chronicles allude. The last king but one of Singapore is given the old Sri Vijaya title of Sri Maharaja, while the last of all is credited with the Muslim title of Iskandar (or Alexander), because Sumatran folklore connected Alexander with Mahameru, the mountain of the Sailendra dynasty, and as the Malay rulers of Malacca claimed descent from those Sailendras, they also must have been connected with an Alexander who must have been the Macedonian conqueror! The end of the thirteenth century saw the coming of Islam; and according to Malay historians Alexander brought it; so tradition slipped an Iskandar into the Malacca genealogy at the most plausible place, the only possible place between the Hindu period and the historical rulers of Malacca. So much for the olla-podrida of the *Malay Annals*.

Wang Ta-Yuan, the Chinese trader writing in 1349 gives us a graphic picture. He tells of what reads like Keppel harbour, "a strait bordered by two hills of the Tan-ma-hsi barbarians that looked like dragon's teeth," of a hot rainy climate, a land of poor soil and few rice-fields, whose only products were loot from the Chu'an-Chou traders. "When the Chinese junks go to the Western sea, these people let them pass unmolested, but when on the way back they have reached Carimon island, then the junk people get out their armour and padded screens to protect themselves against arrow fire, for of a certainty two or three hundred pirate junk will come out to attack." The people lived mixed up among the Chinese. "In ancient times the chief in digging the ground found a bejewelled cap." On "the first day of the first moon, the chief wearing this cap and putting on his best clothes used to receive the congratulations of the people. At the present time, however, they exchange presents among themselves (like the Chinese)." Most of the inhabitants did up their hair in a chignon and wore "a short cotton skirt with a blue sarong tied round them." Just before 1349, the same authority tells us, the town closed its gates and successfully resisted the attack of seventy

Siamese junks for a month, until the appearance of a Chinese fleet caused the Siamese to withdraw. d'Albuquerque declares it was a vassal of the king of Siam.

Two decades or less after its repulse of the Siamese junks the island port was sacked by Majapahit. A Javanese history, the *Pararaton,* tells how in 1338 Gajah Mada, a famous minister of Majapahit, swore not to taste his favorite dish until he had subdued ten countries, including Palembang, Pahang and Tumasik. As we have seen, in 1365 the *Nagarakrtagama* mentions among other places Tumasik as subject to Majapahit. Ming history seems to put Majapahit's conquest of Sri Vijaya before 1377. It relates how by 1373 there were three kings of Sri Vijaya, the Maharaja of Palembang, a king Tan-ma-sa-na-ho, and a third whose name defies interpretation. In 1376 the king Tan-ma-sa-na-ho died and was succeeded by his son Maharaja Wuli, who dared not ascend the throne without the authority of the Chinese emperor. In 1377 the emperor gave a seal but the Javanese who had *already* conquered Sri Vijaya waylaid and killed the imperial envoys. Can Tan-ma-sa-na-ho be construed king of Tumasik?

An inscription in Majapahit script of the fourteenth century, that once stood at the mouth of the Singapore river and might have thrown some light on the island's history, was blown to fragments by the Public Works Department a hundred years ago. One undecipherable fragment preserved in Raffles' Museum is all that is left of old Singapore except a pair of handsome Majapahit gold bracelets and other gold ornaments of the same century found at the root of a tree on Fort Canning, the Hill Tabu, where the Malay kings are reputed to have lived. The *Malay Annals* ascribe the fall of the town to the treachery of a chief aggrieved at the cruelty of a sensual tyrant. When the granaries of a port dependent on imports were empty, he invited the enemy to come and one dawn opened a gate for their onset. The red barren laterite soil of the Hill Tabu has given rise to the story that it ran with blood before its Javanese invaders. But if the defenders were indeed massacred, the carnage must have been due to desperate courage; for behind them lay a sea of foliage into which they could have filtered like minnows and escaped. The king did escape to Seletar on the east of the island and thence to Muar.



Majapahit Bracelet & Rings dug up on Fort Canning, Singapore.

III

THE MALAY EMPIRE OF MALACCA.

i.

THE QUEST FOR A SETTLEMENT.

One writer has postulated an earlier Malayu near Malacca, because the *Yuan-che* chronicle in 1295 records that the Siamese had long fought with the Malays and because d'Albuquerque remarks that the Siamese no longer sent merchant ships to Malacca by reason of their constant wars with the "Malayos." The new version of Marco Polo seems to put Malayu in 1292 at Singapore, if it were anywhere by the Malay Peninsula. And as for wars with the Siamese, in 1292 a king of Sukhodaya had turned on his allies in Tambralinga and wrested their country from the Malays for ever. The second ruler of Malacca, Muhammad Iskandar Shah, who possibly married a Patani princess, daughter of Raja Sulaiman of Kota Mahaligai, sent an embassy to China to complain of Siamese aggression in 1419 and Muzaffar Shah, one of the most famous of Malacca's Sultans (ca. 1445—ca. 1458), beat the Siamese in Pahang and at sea off Batu Pahat. There was enough Siamese aggression in places known to history to account for their avoidance of Malacca without postulating a Malayu settlement near its borders, although there is no reason, as we have seen, why there should not have been a forgotten hill-town called Malayu at Muar or at Pagoh, site of a royal Malacca grave-yard on a tributary of the Muar. There is no reason why several settlements near Malacca should not have been called Malayu after the name of the original home of the Malays, the country round Jambi.

A Javanese history, the *Pararaton,* written in 1328, mentions one Tuhan Wuruju (or Tuan Bongsu), youngest son of a Khsatriya of Pamelakahan, taken prisoner at Jambi in 1293 and carried to Majapahit, and some have seen here a reference to "Malacca land." Again, in 1360, if by chance it is not an addition inserted later, a Siamese code, the *Kot Monthieraban,* cites as tributary to Siam: Ujong Tanah ("Land's End," afterwards Johor), Malacca, Malayu and an unidentified Wurawari. But evidently still a small fishing-village Malacca is not noticed by Marco Polo in 1292, or Fra Odorico of Pordenone in 1323 or Ibn Batuta in 1345 or in

that Javanese work, the *Nagarakrtagama* in 1365. Some time after 1360, however, when Majapahit had destroyed Singapore, Malacca must have grown populous with the advent of its refugees under Parameswara their chief: Godinho de Eredia gives 1398 as the date of its foundation. The *Malay Annals* say that Parameswara went from Saletar to the Muar river, stayed at a spot called Rotten Monitor-Lizards, because many of those reptiles were killed round his camp, moved to another river-side camp where his temporary fort started a place-name the Ruined Fort, thence to Sungai Ujong where he appointed a Mantri (whose title survived till Bugis times) and so to Sungai Bertam where he founded Malacca, naming it after a Myrobalan tree, against which His Highness was leaning when he saw a white mouse-deer kick one of his hunting-dogs into the river! A similar incident led to the founding of Pasai. It is a South Indian legend. Candy was founded at a spot where a fleeing hare recoiled from a rock and so turned on the jackal pursuing her!

ii.

PARAMESWARA, FOUNDER OF MALACCA, AND THE HINDU PERIOD.

Who was Parameswara? Perhaps the earliest account is that published in 1557 by the bastard son of the great d'Albuquerque, who had access to his father's papers. He tells how after much fighting "Paramicura," a pagan king of Palembang, married a daughter of a Bataratamurel (? Batara of Tumapel) and agreed to pay his father-in-law tribute and be his vassal. Faithless to his promise he was attacked and conquered by the Batara and lost his kingdom, whereupon he fled in a junk to Singapore along with his wife and children. The local chief Tamagi received him hospitably but after eight days was creesed by his guest, covetous of the country's riches. Joined by three thousand followers from Palembang, Parameswara reigned for five years at Singapore, pillaging all the passing shipping with his fleet of *lancharas*. Then aided by Singapore subjects who disliked their ruler's exactions, the king of Patani drove out the murderer of his brother Tamagi.

de Barros, writing in 1553, relates that after the death of a Javanese ruler, Pararisa (? Bhra Hyang Wicesa, king of Tumapel

1389–1428, one of the two kingdoms into which Majapahit split on his accession), a dynastic war started and many nobles fled from the country, among them a Parameswara, who accepted the hospitality of Sangesinga (? Sanghang Singha) king of Singapore. After a short time Parameswara murdered his host and with the aid of his Javanese followers and the "Cellates" made himself master of the town. He was driven out by the king of Siam, father-in-law and suzerain of Sangesinga, fled to the Muar river and built a wooden fort at Pagoh for dread of Siamese attack. The "Cellates" or Proto-Malay sea-folk followed him but fearful of their numbers the exile bade them go elsewhere to make a settlement; they then founded Malacca.

Diogo de Couto corroborates that the penultimate king of Singapore was of Palembang descent and adds that the last king of Singapore and first of Malacca was called Raja Sabu (alias Sambu!) as well as Iskandar Shah. Raja Sabu fell victim to the treachery of his treasurer, whose daughter had been his mistress and was humiliated by him. He fled from Javanese invaders "to the coast of Malacca, to a place called Sencuder, close to Ujantana" (= Johor), where before founding Malacca he remained some time, making himself agreeable to the local people and taking command of their fleets with which he scoured the straits. Can "Sencuder" stand for Skudai, largest river of the Johor delta of which the River Malayu forms part?

Godinho de Eredia (1613) makes a mistake in the title, giving it the feminine ending. "Permicuri selected Malacca in the interests of his own safety, for he stood in fear of the ruler of Pam" (that is, Pahang) "overlord of the countries of Ujontana, who was making warlike preparations to capture him, in consequence of the treachery which Permicuri had perpetrated in Sincapura, when he assassinated the *Xabandar*, who was related to the lord of Pam, despite the kindness which the *Xabandar* had shown at his house in Sincapura, when Permicuri took refuge there in his flight from his father-in-law, the Emperor of Java."

One point is important. Alike in Majapahit and Bali the title Parameswara meant Prince Consort and was the style of one

married to a princess of higher rank than himself. Apparently it was not customary for Majapahit princesses to marry foreigners, so that it looks as if the Parameswara was some lesser Javanese nobleman and the story of his Sailendra descent a fiction of Sumatran folklore imported perhaps in the reign of the third ruler of Malacca. It looks, too, as if he found in possession of Singapore a vassal of Siam and proceeded to get rid of him. Ming records tell us that in 1378 a Maharaja Tajau was king of Pahang and sent the Emperor a letter on gold leaf with six foreign slaves, but it is not known of what race he was, nor is anything known of Parameswara "Ta-lo-si-ni" ruler of Pahang in 1411, whom the Chinese Admiral Cheng-Ho visited. Later in the fifteenth century Pahang was certainly in the Siamese sphere of influence.

A Ming (1368–1643) chronicle relates that in 1403 the Emperor of China sent the eunuch Yin Ch'ing as envoy to Malacca with presents of silk brocade. "There was no king in the country and it was not called a kingdom but it belonged to Siam, to which it paid an annual tribute of forty taels of gold.... The chief Pai-li-su-ra was very glad" and in 1405 sent a return mission to China. "The emperor spoke in laudatory terms of their master, appointed him king of the country of Malacca and gave him a commission, a seal, a suit of silk clothes and a yellow umbrella." As we have seen, the envoys told the emperor that their king "requested that his mountains might be made guardians of the country. The emperor gave his assent; he prepared an inscription with a piece of verse at the end, and ordered a tablet to be erected on those mountains." Again Yin Ch'ing arrived to carry out the emperor's orders. Again in 1407 Parameswara sent envoys to China, and when in 1408 the famous Cheng-Ho or Ong Sam Po visited Malacca, Malay envoys accompanied him home. About this time, according to the Ming Annals, the king of Malacca falsely claimed possession of Palembang which then was under Java. In 1411 Parameswara went to China "with his wife, his son and his ministers, altogether 450 persons.... He was lodged in the building of the Board of Rites and received in audience by the emperor, who entertained him in person." On departure "he was entertained by the emperor and got again a

girdle of precious stones, horses with saddles, a hundred ounces of gold, five hundred ounces of silver, four hundred thousand *kwan* of paper money, and 2,600 strings of copper cash; further 300 pieces of gauze silk, a thousand pieces of plain silk and two pieces of silk with golden flowers. His wife, his son, his nephew and his suite were entertained separately and got presents according to their rank. Afterwards the officers of the Board of Rites entertained them twice at two different post-stations on their road. In 1412 his nephew came to present thanks.... In 1414 the king's son, Mu-kan-sa-u-ti-r-sha," that is perhaps Muhammad Iskandar Shah, "came to court and said that his father had died; he was appointed to succeed him and presented with gold and silks." The Parameswara, whom all chronicles Malay and Portuguese paint as a murderous tyrant in Singapore, had proved a most competent and just ruler of his new settlement.

An account written (1425–32 ?) by Ma-Huan, a Chinese Muslim interpreter to Admiral Cheng-Ho on his mission to the Archipelago in 1413, is less circumstantial but adds to our knowledge. Malacca's "old name was *Wu-hsu,* Five Islets, on account of there being that number of islands in the sea thereabout.... The soil is barren and saline; the crops are poor, so that agriculture is not in favour. The country was under the rule of Hsien-lo (Siam): yearly it paid five thousand (? fifty) ounces of gold; should it have failed to do so, it would have suffered an attack." A later Chinese work, perhaps quoting from Fei-Sin, another secretary of Cheng-Ho, declares that on one of the Five Islets was a large trading place before ever Malacca was founded. Ma-Huan continues that it was Cheng-Ho in 1409 who gave Parameswara "a silver seal, a cap, and official robes and declared him king," on which Malacca "ceased to be a dependency of Siam. The king, taking with him his wife and son, proceeded to the capital of China to express his thanks for being allowed to offer tribute. The emperor granted him a ship to return to his country. There is a large stream which passes by the king's palace and enters the sea. On the bridge which spans it is a row of sheds with over twenty columns supporting them; here come those who have trading to do. Among the people the men have a kerchief

about their heads, the women do their hair in a knot behind. Their bodies are rather dark, they wear a short skirt and wrap around the loins a piece of stuff. The cottages are like those of Siam; the people live all huddled together. They make a living by fishing. The boats in which they go to sea and fish are dug out of logs of wood. In their marriage and funerals they do as in Java." Ma-Huan notes as products of the country ebony, resin and tin; he remarks on the palms from which mats were woven and an intoxicating spirit made, and he observes that there were no donkeys and no horses. An edition of Ma-Huan enlarged by Chang Cheng in 1436 or 1437 adds that Cheng-Ho "erected a stone and raised the place to a city after which the land was called the kingdom of Malacca." In 1436 Fei-Sin tells us that the tin was melted into blocks, each block weighing one catty four ounces, and that it was Malacca's only product for export. The goods imported were blue and white porcelain, coloured beads, coloured taffetas, gold and silver. The skin of the people, evidently of the fisher-folk, was "like black lacquer" but there were fair ones of Chinese descent. They lived in houses on piles, though Chinese annals dated 1537 record that the king "lives in a house of which the fore-part is covered with tiles left there by Cheng-Ho: the other buildings all arrogate the form of imperial halls and are adorned with tin-foil."

d'Albuquerque relates that before the coming of the Malays, the site of Malacca was occupied by twenty or thirty persons who lived partly by fishing and partly by piracy. These people attracted Parameswara to the spot by their accounts of its good water and its potential rice-fields and were rewarded later by being made Mantris and gentlemen at the palace. Four months after his arrival there were a hundred people on the site of the future city: ten years later the population was 2,000 and engaged in trade with Pasai and Bengal. Parameswara was a just king and his success reconciled him even to his father-in-law "Batara-tamurel."

This then was the Malacca of Parameswara: a small village on piles accommodating Proto-Malays so primitive that they still killed fish with wooden spears, a small population of immigrant

Malays who for want of old orchards and rice-fields planted (according to the Chinese) quick-growing crops like sugar-cane, bananas, jack-fruit, vegetables and spices and busied themselves in the export of their only article of commerce, tin from Klang and Sungai Ujong. At first the settlement paid tribute to Siam to escape destruction. For trade it depended on passing Chinese junks until Indians got to know of that row of godowns on the bridge. For rice its growing population turned to Sumatra, and with that rice from Pedir and Pasai imported Islam and attracted so many "Moors," that, to use d'Albuquerque's phrase, in time Malacca was no longer a Pasai village but Pasai became a village of Malacca. Before the end of its founder's reign, Malacca trade was large enough to attract vessels from Java and Bengal.

Raja Besar Muda, son and successor of the Parameswara, was Muhammad Iskandar Shah, the Mu-Xaquendarsa of the Portuguese. Not only did he go to China in 1414 to announce his father's death but he sailed there again in 1419 with his wife, his son and his ministers, to report that Siam seemed inclined to attack his country, whereupon the emperor "sent an order to Siam, which it obeyed." d'Albuquerque, who gives the fullest account of his reign, states that he married a daughter of the king of Pasai, who had recently become a Muslim, and that after a little while, in response to the entreaty of his wife or the urging of his father-in-law, the Malacca ruler also accepted Islam. As Ma-Huan visited Malacca in 1413, it is probably not the Parameswara but his son whom he describes as wearing "a white turban," a fine green flowered robe and leather shoes and riding in a sedan chair, while his people "revered the doctrines of the Muslims, observing its fasts and penances." "After begetting many sons," d'Albuquerque continues, "Xaquendarsa went to China for three years." On his return he "minted tin coinage, called cash," gold and silver not being used for currency but only for barter. He died in 1424 after a reign of ten years.

The third ruler of Malacca is called by the Chinese Si-la Ma-ha-la, the old Palembang title Sri Maharaja. Perhaps the growing wealth of his port stirred him to emulate the state of ancient Sri Vijaya. Some recensions of the *Malay Annals* insert,

while others omit a long account of his organisation of that elaborate palace etiquette which still obtains in Perak. Court ceremonies are the legacy of centuries not the invention of a day, though the Sri Maharaja may have been particularly interested in their observance. But the pomp of power did not distract him from politics and commerce. He sailed to China in 1424 with a wife and son, and he sent three envoys there in 1431 in a Sumatran vessel to report that fear of a Siamese attack kept him from paying his respects in person. The three envoys returned with Cheng-Ho, who was instructed to deliver the usual pious injunction to Siam. In 1433 the Sri Maharaja himself visited the emperor and in 1435 despatched his brother with tribute. According to the *Malay Annals* his title before kingship was Raja Kechil Besar and having learnt to recite the Muslim profession of faith in a dream he fell a ready convert to a Sayid 'Abdu'l-Aziz, taking the style of Muhammad Shah and claiming descent from Alexander the Great. Admittedly so far every ruler of Malacca had required to be converted to Islam and though on the two great Muslim festivals he is said to have shown himself to his people, as his ancestors of Singapore displayed themselves at the new year (p. 35), the conversion of the Sri Maharaja might be suspected, if we did not know that he had a half-caste Muslim wife.

In 1445 Malacca sent envoys to China, asking for recognition, a snake-embroidered dress and an umbrella for the son and successor of the Sri Maharaja. Though his birth name is said to have been Raja Ibrahim, this son assumed the hybrid Hindu title of Si-la Pa-mi-si-wa-r-tiu-pa-sha or Sri Parameswara Dewa *Shah!* It looks as if after the second ruler of Malacca had embraced Islam, there was a reaction against the new religion. But now a *coup d'état* by Muslim Tamils was to crush Hinduism for ever and create the Malacca Sultanate.

iii.

THE MUSLIM SULTANATE.

The Sri Parameswara Dewa Shah was not the elder son of the Sri Maharaja but was elevated to the throne on account of having royal blood on both sides, his mother being a princess, cousin of the ruler of Rokan, a Malay state on the east coast

of Sumatra. His elder brother, Raja Kasim, was the son of a Tamil or half Tamil mother, daughter of a trader from Pasai. When years ago this Tamil trader had settled in Malacca, he boasted of royal descent and of a marriage into the Pasai royal family and his wealth got him the rank of a Mantri, while he begat a son, Tun 'Ali, a future Sri Nara 'diraja, and a daughter, destined to be mother of Raja Kasim. Now on the death of his father, the young boy Sri Parameswara Dewa Shah was under the guardianship of the Raja of Rokan who not only despised Raja Kasim for his commoner Tamil blood and turned him out to fish in the harbour but also very probably proceeded to increase taxes and tolls on Coromandel shipping. Anyhow after Sri Parameswara Dewa Shah had reigned for seventeen months, the south-west monsoon brought a Moor, Jalalu'd-din, who agreed to assist Tun 'Ali, the Tamil (or half-caste) Sri Nara 'diraja, uncle of Raja Kasim, to rid Malacca of the Raja of Rokan and place Tun 'Ali's own nephew on the throne. One dark night they attacked the palace and stabbed the Raja of Rokan. That is all court annals will admit. It was not the plotters who killed the Sri Parameswara Dewa Shah but the Raja of Rokan in his death agony. It was not of free-will that a Bendahara joined the plot: he was tricked into it. Anyhow the plot succeeded and the murdered boy, who in his lifetime was never styled Sultan, was given the posthumous title of Sultan Abu Shahid, " The Martyred King." Soon afterwards the chief conspirator Tun 'Ali, Sri Nara 'diraja, was promoted Bendahara, wherefor the Moors invented for his Tamil father the title of Mani Purindan, being the Tamil equivalent for Bendahara, and as the old trader was father of a king-maker and ancestor of a branch of the great Bendahara family, Malay sycophants termed him Baginda, " The Conqueror," a style that would have better suited his son, the successful conspirator. The chronicler seems to have mixed up the famous son with a shadowy trader father and to have made him a half-caste instead of a full-blooded Tamil.

Raja Kasim now took the style of Muzaffar Shah, the Wu-ta-fu-na-sha of the Chinese and Modafaixa and Malafar Sha of the Portuguese. So great was the power of this king's uncle

the Sri Nara 'diraja, that the Malay prime minister, the Bendahara Sriwa Raja, poisoned himself from chagrin, whereupon the king-maker stepped into his office. Diplomacy made Muzaffar Shah marry Tun Kudu, a daughter of the dead Sriwa Raja, a Malay lady destined to play a great part in politics. Perhaps it was her influence that brought to court her brother, Tun Perak; as Penghulu of Klang a hero of Proto-Malay tradition, winner of campaigns against Siam, Pahang and Pasai, the brain of Malacca's imperialist policy in Malaya and Sumatra for more than three reigns, famous as the patron of the great warrior Hang Tuah. Promoted from Klang to be Court Chamberlain and then Dato' Paduka Raja, this Malay chief won the battle his father had lost against the king's uncle, though by the sacrifice of his own sister Tun Kudu. Muzaffar Shah seeing that peace was only to be got by his uncle's resignation offered him any bride he might choose if he would relinquish his office of Bendahara. In dudgeon Tun Ali, the Sri Nara 'diraja, agreed, if he might marry Tun Kudu, the sister of his Malay rival and the wife of his nephew the ruler! That must have seemed a safe offer, but Muzaffar Shah and Tun Perak took it, while the lady, so far from objecting, accepted divorce and bore her elderly Tamil second husband two famous children, Tun Senaja, afterwards wife of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din, and Tun Mutahir, a Bendahara slain in 1510. As Bendahara, Tun Perak was now free to frame Malacca's policy. He defeated a Siamese fleet off Batu Pahat. He also restored relations with China, which under the Tamil regime had ceased. The Ming Chronicles record how it was not till 1456 that Muzaffar Shah "sent as tribute horses and products of his country and asked to be invested as king." Perhaps it was then that he first assumed the title of Sultan, ascribed to him in the same chronicles, by the Portuguese, and in the inscription on his grandson's grave-stone at Ulu Pagoh. "Some time afterwards the same king sent tribute again and reported that the cap and girdle, which had been bestowed upon him, were burned; the Emperor then ordered that a cap of leather, a dress, a daily dress of red silk gauze, a girdle adorned with rhinoceros horn and a cap of gauze should be given to him." d'Albuquerque relates that he assumed the title of Sultan shortly before his death.

By a lady of the Malay Bendahara family, a second cousin of Bendahara Tun Perak, Muzaffar Shah left a son Raja 'Abdu'llah, who succeeded his father, taking the title of Sultan Mansur Shah. "In the year 1459, Su-tan Wang-su-sha, sent envoys to bring tribute, on which the Emperor ordered some officers to go and invest him as king": these officers were shipwrecked and two years later others were sent with fresh presents to Malacca. Determined apparently to avenge Siam's abortive attack on Malacca during the last reign, Tun Perak persuaded his young cousin and master to sanction an expedition of 200 ships against Siam's vassal, Pahang. The heathen governor of Pahang, a Maharaja Dewa Sura, was captured along with his daughter and his elephant and carried captive to Málacca, where Mansur Shah took the girl into his harem and made her father, an expert on elephants, head of the royal mahouts. The Bendahara's chief assistant in the campaign was given two tasselled umbrellas and a royal band (minus the kettledrum and forbidden to play within Malacca's borders) and was created viceroy of Pahang, a state important for its gold. After this a mission was sent to Siam and peace patched up.

But while his chiefs were extending the frontiers of his kingdom, the young Sultan was occupied with domestic matters. He married a Javanese and a Chinese, both of whom court romance has turned into royal princesses. His harem was so well stocked that the palace became a scene of scandals. Even that paladin, Hang Tuah, was suspected of an intrigue and was saved from execution only by his friends, living to rid the Sultan of another swashbuckler, Hang Kasturi, who caught with one of his master's concubines drew his creese and defied capture. Hang Tuah, the proto-Malay from Bentan, was created Laksamana or Admiral, with Sungai Raya, that is, Batu Pahat for his appanage. But a palace polluted by *lese-majesté* had to be vacated and a new one built. "This ruler," writes d'Albuquerque, "constructed large buildings on Malacca hill," and, according to the *Malay Annals*, the roofs were many-tiered, the pinnacles of coloured glass, the walls painted and gilded. A fire broke out and the buildings were destroyed. Yet another palace was built and the places from

which the builders came are evidence of the extent of Malacca's dominion: Johor, Jambi, Kampar, Bengkalis, Carimon (= Kerimun) Islands, Bintan, Muar and other spots of less certain identity.

d'Albuquerque records how hearing that his uncle Raja Puteh who lived at Bintao was fomenting rebellion, Mansur Shah went there and creesed him, though he was an old man. But direct personal action was not a characteristic of this ruler. Kampar, a state whose river was an outlet for the gold and pepper of the great kingdom of Minangkabau, was conquered by Tun Tahir, son of the Tamil or half-caste Tun 'Ali, Sri Nara 'diraja, who had resigned the office of Bendahara: this Sumatran river state was bestowed by Mansur Shah upon the victor for a fief but it was ruled from Malacca. Next Siak, another state important for Sumatran commerce, was conquered: the king was slain and his son was given a daughter of Mansur Shah in marriage and reigned in his father's stead. And the Bendahara Tun Perak and the Laksamana led a large force against Pasai, still a formidable State, to try to quell a rebellion and restore its Sultan who promised to become Malacca's vassal in return for help to regain his throne. The Pasai ruler was restored but broke his promise and Malacca never got a footing in what was destined to become a province of Acheh.

In spite of a reign of great public achievements, due to the genius of Tun Perak, his Malay Bendahara, Sultan Mansur Shah was dogged by those domestic troubles that pursue the weak polygamist. His spoilt eldest son and heir, angry because his headkerchief was accidentally knocked off by a Malay football, creesed the unlucky player, who happened to be a son of the Bendahara. The boy's relatives meditated retaliation in kind but Tun Perak was content to inform his royal cousin that now his eldest son could never be accepted as his successor. Mansur Shah, always subservient to the advice of Tun Perak, recalled Sri Bija 'diraja, viceroy of Pahang, and sent his offending eldest heir to become first Sultan of that country. A son by Mansur's Javanese consort was now heir to the Malacca throne but the boy was creesed in Kampong Kling by a man running amuck and, as Tun Perak must have reflected with satisfaction, not even the execution

of all his cowardly guards could bring him to life. Fate was clearing a way for Tun Perak's nephew to ascend the Malacca throne.

War and women filled the gay and ambitious hours of the Malacca court. But from Hindu times theology and scholarship, coming always from India, had adorned lives, otherwise filled with the lusts of the eye and the lusts of the flesh. Does any part of that sacred and profane literature, which must have come from Malacca, date back as far as Mansur Shah? Most of Malay literature is translation. When in 1511 d'Albuquerque was besieging Malacca, the names of those heroes of Muslim romance, Amir Hamzah and Muhammad Hanafiah, were already household words. Even earlier probably was the Malay translation of a Tamil recension of the Ramayana, of which the Bodleian library possesses a manuscript copy dated 1600 A.D. The *Malay Annals* confound the Javanese wife of Mansur Shah with princess Chandra Kirana, the heroine of a twelfth century cycle of Javanese tales named after prince Panji, who tiring of court life served as a simple soldier, undergoing many transformations and marrying many brides before he was joined on the battle-field to the heroine princess, who had followed him in disguise. Some of the Malay versions of Javanese tales, like the story of Maharaja Boma, elaborated from a Kawi poem, are founded on old Javanese models and antedate the modern Javanese texts. Islam quickly brought a change of taste and introduced the romances of the Deccan. Some of these romances make Brahma the Supreme God; most contain allusions to Allah; all are of the same type and parallels may be traced in Sinhalese, Kashmirian and Punjabi folk literature. The Tamil strain in the royal family and in one branch of the Bendaharas, and the royal harem filled with brides of many races, these made for the growth of a cosmopolitan literature. Islam bringing a supply of fresh work must have stimulated creative effort. Already Malacca was interested in works like the "Perfect Man" of 'Abdu'l-Karim al-Jili who died about 1417 leaving mystical doctrines that spread eastwards from Baghdad. Mansur Shah sent to the Pasai court a present of yellow and purple brocades, a red lory and a brown cockatoo with a letter offering seven *tahil* of gold-dust and two slave-girls, one Bugis, one from Muar, to any

theologian who could say if those in heaven and those in hell remain in their respective places for ever. Openly a Pasai pundit replied that they did, quoting the Quran. But the Sultan sent for him, suggested that the embassy could not have come for such an obvious answer and said there was another solution. "Correct, O king!" replied the crestfallen theologian, "but your slave is ashamed to retract his words." "Send for the envoy" the Sultan retorted "and explain that you could not give the esoteric answer in public but in private you can." The theologian did so and won the gold and the girls. The envoy from Malacca took the solution back to his ship in the middle of the night with drums beating all the way. The answer must have been on lines suggested by al-Jili's *Insan-al Kamil*—"You may say, if you like that the hell-fire remains as it was, but that the torment of the damned is changed to pleasure" or, again "The power of endurance of the sufferers in hell continues to grow—God never takes back his gifts and these powers come from God—until there appears in them a Divine power which extinguishes the fire, because no one is doomed to misery after the Divine attributes become manifest in him."

At the end of 1477 on a Wednesday Mansur Shah died, leaving this mortal abode which, as his tomb-stone reminds us, "is impermanent as the house made by a spider." The Bendahara, Tun Perak, got his own nephew, a younger son of Mansur Shah, elected to succeed his father with the title 'Ala'u'd-din Riayat Shah:—already as Raja Husain, the boy had been married to Tun Senaja, a niece of the Bendahara and sister of Sri Maharaja Tun Mutahir. The elder half-brother of the new ruler, retired in dudgeon to Pahang. Conveniently, in 1475 death had overtaken his eldest brother, the slayer of the hapless football player, who had been banished to the throne of that remote east coast state. So now the disgruntled prince proclaimed himself Sultan Mahmud Shah and inaugurated his reign over Pahang by having Talani, governor of Trengganu, murdered for paying homage to his hated younger brother 'Ala'u'd-din Shah of Malacca. Only on the advice of Tun Perak did 'Ala'u'd-din refrain from war and content himself by having a relative of Talani's murderer stabbed by Hang Tuah

before the eyes of the Pahang king. Besides Sultan Mahmud of Pahang, Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din had yet another brother, Sulaiman, described by d'Albuquerque as his son,—wrongly as is proved by his grave recently found at Sayong Pinang on a remote tributary of the Johor river, where he may have been the first of the Malacca family to settle. 'Ala'u'd-din is not recorded to have reported his succession to China, though in 1481 he sent envoys to announce that having occupied Champa the Annamites threatened to conquer Malacca too, but that, as all the countries involved were the Emperor's tributaries, Malacca had abstained from hostilities: the Emperor reproved Annam but told Malacca to raise soldiers and resist any Annamite attack. 'Ala'u'd-din was involved in a war between Pasai and Aru (which the Chinese tell us had a Muslim Sultan in 1411), the Malacca fleet scattering the Aru armada to its own coast. He sent Hang Tuah, the Laksamana, to reprove the vassal Sultan of Siak for not getting Malacca's sanction for death sentences. In time some one persuaded him to send his eldest and fully royal son to Sumatra to rule Kampar as Sultan Munawar Shah. It was good training for a future ruler of Malacca. Moreover, who could tell? If Munawar were away across the water, the Malacca chiefs might choose for the Malacca throne Mahmud, the young son of 'Ala'u'd-din by Tun Perak's niece. Was it Tun Perak who persuaded the Sultan to remove Munawar from Malacca? Or was the intriguer the clever half-Tamil Temenggong, Sri Maharaja Tun Mutahir, brother of the Sultan's consort Tun Senaja? The death of 'Ala'u'd-din Shah in 1488 in the prime of life is also mysterious. Did he die at Kampong Raja, Ulu Pagoh, on the Muar river, where his grave still stands? Was he too honest and direct for his scheming Temenggong? This energetic forceful ruler who at night, like Harun a'r-Rashid, would patrol the streets of his capital in disguise, himself cut down robbers, and next morning humiliate his clever brother-in-law, Temenggong Mutahir, head of the police, by showing up the inefficiency of his department? d'Albuquerque gives an epitome of his reign. He was so wealthy that his fortune was estimated at 140 quintals of gold. Seeing that he was so rich, he decided to go to Mecca and prepared numerous junks for the voyage. He had determined that the kings of those pepper states, Kampar

and Indragiri, should accompany him. For as they were disposed to rebel, he kept them at his court and would not let them go home. About to leave for Mecca, he died of poison supposed to have been administered at the instigation of the kings of Pahang and Indragiri. In his reign Malacca became so famous that it had 40,000 inhabitants, including all the races in the world.

On the death of 'Ala'u'd-din, d'Albuquerque tells us, there were great dissensions in the kingdom. His mother and the rulers of Pahang and Kampar favoured the rightful heir, Munawar Shah, for the throne. But rich and powerful his "uncle the Bendahara" (as d'Albuquerque prematurely describes the still Temenggong Tun Mutahir) secured the election of a far younger brother, Mahmud, child of Tun Senaja his sister and arranged for envoys from China to "invest" him. Of this partly Tamil ruler, most tragic of Malacca's Sultans, time has left no adequate portrait. The Portuguese had no liking for one who imprisoned Ruy d'Araujo and his men. d'Albuquerque declares Mahmud was vain and proud and mocked at his father's intended pilgrimage, saying that Malacca was the real Mecca, an innocent remark out of keeping with his later theological studies. The author of the *Malay Annals* has even revised (p. 73 *infra*) his chronicles to concoct further details to the discredit of the ingrate who had his own maternal uncle, that author's ancestor, Tun Mutahir, executed—for treason.

According to the *Malay Annals* his grandmother would have smothered the little wretch when he was ill, had not his granduncle Tun Perak and the Admiral Hang Tuah guarded him day and night. Soon, faithless to his royal consort and cousin, a daughter of Sultan Mahmud of Pahang, the young spark began to run loose among the wives of his chiefs, and he surrounded himself with favorites, who failed to respect his dignity. Tun Perak, the grand old man of Malacca, now (ca. 1498) died, to be succeeded as Bendahara by his brother Tun Puteh, an old fellow who organised successful campaigns against Manjong on behalf of its neighbour Bruas and against Kelantan, the latter campaign providing Sultan Mahmud with a captive princess for wife. Tun Puteh died. The Malays would have chosen as Bendahara the Paduka Tuan, son of the famous Tun Perak, but the boy king obeyed his mother

and promoted her own half-Tamil brother, Temenggong Tun Mutahir. From now till 1510 when he rid himself of Bendahara Tun Mutahir, the Sultan was a mere figure-head. According to the Portuguese he took to opium. He was a student of such literature as the romances of Amir Hamzah and Muhammad Hanafiah. He studied religion and mysticism. Malacca trade had already carried Islam as far as Banda and the Moluccas. Mahmud's court was thronged with adventurers, bibulous mahouts with Hindu names, Afghan bravoes, Tamil merchants ready to buy their way to royal favour. Though the influence of the many Muslim missionaries was great, yet spiritual pride, ignorance of the Malay language and physical cowardice made them unpopular. There was one so proud he would not open his door to the Sultan till he came on foot and unaccompanied. There was another so craven that when in 1511 he was taken into battle against the Portuguese, he clung to the howdah and cried, "This is no place to ponder the Unity of God. Let us go back."

Meanwhile the fame of Malacca grew. It beat off Siamese attacks by land and sea and helped Pahang to resist an attack by Siam's vassal Ligor. Patani and Kedah (Muslim since 1474) acknowledged themselves vassals. In 1508 following its traditional policy, Malacca sent an envoy, a "Tuan Haji" to China to cultivate trade relations. d'Albuquerque credits Sultan Mahmud with having repudiated Malacca's vassalage to Siam and Java and declared himself vassal of the Emperor of China, this policy leading to the wars with Siam.

Then on 1 August 1509 into Malacca harbour sailed the first European fleet whose keels had ever cleaved Malayan waters. The admiral was a Portuguese, Diogo Lopez de Sequeira. He asked leave to send one of his officers, Teixeira, ashore to deliver presents and a letter from King Emanuel. "All the Malays crowded round in wonder, asking, 'Are these white Bengalis?' There were dozens of Malacca people round every Portuguese; some pulled their beards and patted their heads, others seized their hats or clasped their hands. The Portuguese captain went to interview Bendahara Tun Mutahir, who gave the captain's little son a Malay costume. The captain presented the Bendahara with

a gold chain and flung it over his sacred head. The chief's followers were angry but their master stayed them, remarking, 'Take no notice! For he is a person of no manners.'" The author of the *Malay Annals*, for whom members of the Bendahara family could do no wrong, blames only the Sultan for what followed. Probably the Portuguese would have seized Malacca in any event but it is clear to unbiassed minds that Bendahara Tun Mutahir with his greed, his arrogance and his regard for traders of his father's race listened to the Moors who dreaded trespassers on their monopoly, and listening he decided not to welcome competition but to play a waiting game. The local Gujeratis preached a holy war against the Infidel, who came to contest their trade. Finally the Sultan or more probably Tun Mutahir is said to have plotted to capture the Portuguese fleet, while de Sequeira and his companions were being entertained at a banquet on shore. A Javanese woman, who had a lover among the Portuguese sailors, swam off by night and told of the plot. Thereupon the Bendahara seized Ruy de Araujo and some twenty Portuguese who were unarmed collecting cargo. Unable to achieve their release, de Sequeira burnt two of his ships for want of crews and sailed back to Portugal.

According to the *Commentaries* of d'Albuquerque, hearing of the capture of Goa on 25 November 1910, the Bendahara "with his accustomed dissimulation and subtlety" provisioned Malacca and telling Ruy de Araujo and the other eighteen Portuguese captives, who were still alive, nothing of the news from Goa, he informed them that he desired to be on friendly terms with Portugal and would severely punish the Gujeratis and Javanese who had been responsible for the uprising against de Sequeira. On the advice of Ninachatu, a Hindu resident in Malacca, he even released the Portuguese and furnished them with a house and Cambayan stuffs, loot from de Sequeira's merchandise, to sell for their support. In other ways he was less tactful and more arrogant than ever. Though the Sultan had lost his Pahang wife and though it had been the custom for generations for Malacca's prime ministers to give their daughters in marriage to their masters, the Bendahara married a comely daughter, Tun Fatimah, to a cousin Tun 'Ali

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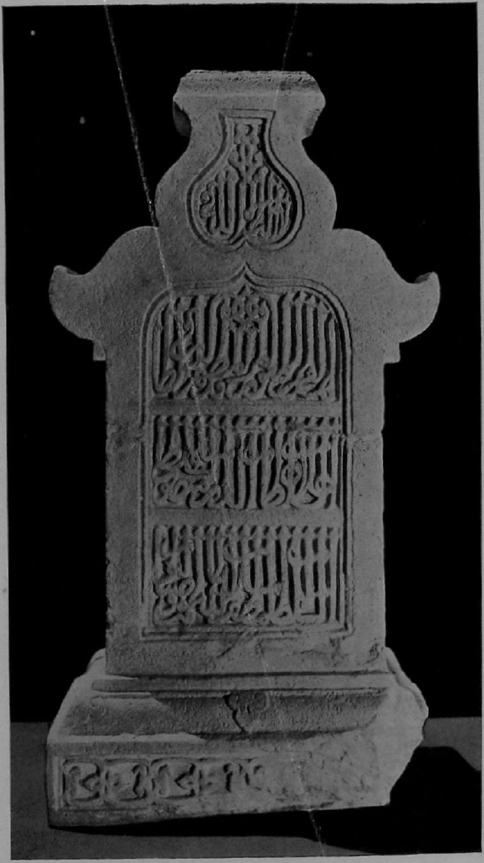

Tomb of 'Ala'u'd-din Shah, Sultan (1477–88 A.D.) of Malacca, at Ulu Pagoh, Muar.

Proto-Malays from Johor.

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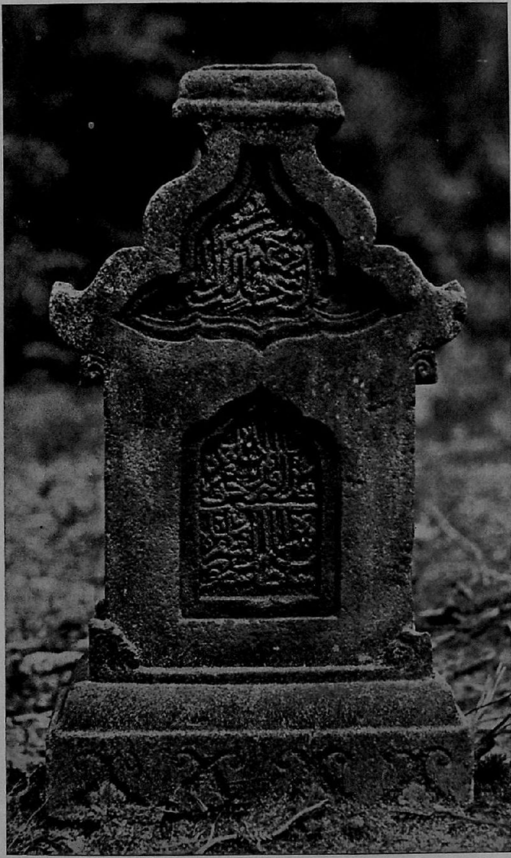

Tomb of Sulaiman Shah, son of Sultan Mansur Shah, at Sayong Pinang on the Johor River.

and 'invited the Sultan to the wedding. This, according to the author of the *Malay Annals,* was the straw that made the Sultan turn on his prime minister. We are asked to believe that Mahmud Shah, the *roi faineant,* had always been a cruel tyrant. Had he not slain Sri Bija 'diraja, hero of his father's Aru war, because the old warrior was suspected of disapproving of his succession to the throne? Had he not instigated the murder of Raja Zainal-'Abidin, his own half brother, of blood royal on both sides, because Zainal-'Abidin enfeoffed himself to popularity? Yet for both these executions the Sultan must have had full approval of the Bendahara, anxious as himself to have no rival house near the throne. But daily the bearing of the Bendahara, Uncle Mutahir, became more exasperating. A handsome and conceited fop, he would go downstairs only to greet the Sultan or his heir, would rise from his seat only to greet the Sultan of Pahang, and made petty rulers like the then Sultan of Kedah truckle to him and dine on his leavings. To local traders he was overbearing; to foreign merchants all the more ingratiating because he was open to illegal gratifications. One day " Raja Mudeliar " the richest Tamil trader in Malacca presumed to accost the Bendahara in the Sultan's presence and was rudely snubbed. Sued by another trader Naina Sura Dewana, he learnt that the Bendahara had received a large bribe from the plaintiff and was going to compass his death. Terrified " Raja Mudeliar " bribed the Laksamana, Khoja Hasan, an enemy of Tun Mutahir, to tell the Sultan that the Bendahara, son of a traitor, was plotting to seize the throne. Was not the Bendahara's comely daughter, Tun Fatimah, flaunting royal yellow in the arms of a commoner husband? The story came, as the *Malay Annals* say in an inept figure of speech, " like the offer of a pillow to a sleepy man ": rather it came like a red rag to a harassed bull. The Sultan had on his side not only the whole of the Malay branch of the Bendahara family, the descendants of Tun Perak: he had also the Malacca Moors who had been victims of the greed and corruption of one who like them was the descendant of Indian tradesmen. The whole of the Tamil branch of the Bendahara family was exterminated except one boy Tun Hamza. The tale of an attempt by the Bendahara to seize the throne is corroborated by the Portuguese. At Pedir d'Albuquerque met eight of de

Sequeira's companions who had escaped from Malacca. They told him how the prime mover against de Sequeira had been a Moor Noadabegea (? Naina Mudeliar) who, having connived with the Bendahara to seize the kingdom, had fled to Pasai, when the plot was discovered and the Bendahara slain. The decision to execute the Bendahara and his family must have come less from a Sultan who, in d'Albuquerque's words, lived the retired life of a monk than from the Malay chiefs who could no longer endure the arrogant *Jawi pekan*. Mahmud married Tun Fatimah, whose husband was among the slain, and he appointed Tun Perak's son, the old Paduka Tuan, to be Bendahara in place of Uncle Mutahir whom "God had invited to His Presence." He, also, confiscated his uncle's fortune. For a short while Mahmud Shah stood on the pinnacle of his fortune and Malacca at the zenith of her magnificence. Majapahit had declined and was fated (some time between 1513 and 1522) to fall before the attacks of the Muslim princes on the coasts of Java;—Majapahit which had destroyed Sri Vijaya the greatest centre of trade in the archipelago. The place of Sri Vijaya had been taken by Malayu or Jambi, but the destiny of Jambi lay not on the sea but inland over the Minangkabau kingdom. So the international trade of Sri Vijaya had passed to Malacca, which with the growth of Islam seemed fated now to be a leader among the Muslim powers of the Far East. Duarte Barbosa, brother-in-law and perhaps cousin of Magellan, who served the Portuguese government in the east from 1500 to 1517, thus describes the trade of a city that lay on waters so smooth its white invaders were to term them the Ladies' Sea:—

"Here dwell up to now great wholesale merchants of every kind, both Moors and Heathen, many of them from Charamandel, men of great estates and owning many great ships which they call *juncos*. They trade everywhere in goods of all kinds. Numbers of ships also come hither to take cargoes of sugar, very fine four-masted ships; they bring great store of silk, very fine raw silk, porcelain in abundance, damasks, brocades, coloured satins, musk, rhubarb, sewing silk in various colours, (much iron), saltpetre, great store of fine silver, pearls in abundance, sorted seed-pearls, gilded coffers, fans, and many other baubles; and all this they

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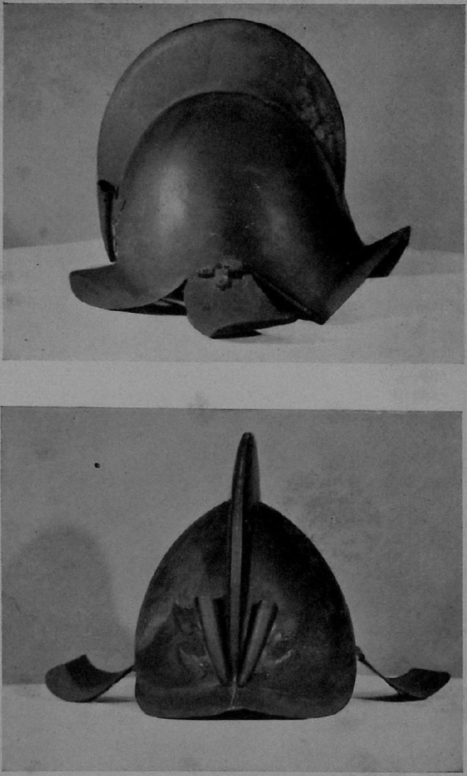

Sixteenth century Portuguese Casque from Malacca.

sell at good prices to the dealers of the country, and in exchange therefor they take away pepper, incense, Cambay cloths dyed in grain, saffron, coral shaped and strung, and ready for shaping, printed and white cotton cloths which come from Bengala, vermilion, quicksilver, opium, and other goods and drugs of Cambaya and one unknown to us which they call *cacho* and another which they call *pucho mangicam*, that is gall-nuts brought inland from the Levante to Cambaya by way of Meca, which are much prized in China and Jaoa. From the Kingdom of Jaoa also come the great *junco* ships (with four masts) to the city of Malacca, which differ much from the fashion of ours, being built of very thick timber, so that when they are old a new planking can be laid over the former (so that there are three or four layers of planks one over the other), and so they remain very strong. The cables and all the shrouds of these ships are made of canes (rattans) which grow in the country. In these ships the Jaos bring hither great store of rice, beef, sheep, swine, deer, salt meat, fowls, garlic and onions, and also bring for sale many weapons, spears, daggers, short swords all finely worked and damascened on fine steel (also cubebs and a yellow dye called *cazuba* (Spanish, *cazunba*), and many other small articles and gold which is found in the said Kingdom of Jaoa.

"These Jaos who live by sailing the seas take with them their wives and children and homes and families; they have no other houses of their own nor do they ever go ashore save for their traffic, and there in those ships they are born and there they die.

"These folk, then, selling their goods, as I have already said, in Malacca at good prices take away in return cloths of Paleacate and Mailapur and others which come from Cambaya, opium, rose-water, vermilion, great store of grains for dyeing, raw silk, saltpetre, iron, *cacho* and *pucho* (which are Cambaya drugs) all of which is much valued in Jaoa. From this city of Malacca ships sail also to the Isles of Maluco there to take in cargoes of cloves, taking thither for sale much Cambaya cloth, cotton and silk of all kinds, other cloths from Paleacate and Bengala, quicksilver, wrought copper, bells and basins, and a Chinese coin (like a *bagattino* with a hole in the middle), pepper, porcelain, garlic, onions, and other

Cambaya goods of divers kinds. Thus they sail from this city of Malacca to all the islands in the whole of this sea, and to Timor whence they bring the whole of the white sanders-wood, which is greatly esteemed among the Moors and is worth much; and thither they take iron, axes, knives, cutlasses, swords, cloths from Paleacate (and Cambaya), copper, quicksilver, vermilion, tin, lead, great store of Cambaya beads in exchange wherefor they take away, as well as the sanders-wood, honey, wax and slaves. These ships also sail from Malacca to the islands which they call Bandan to get cargoes of nutmegs and mace, taking thither for sale Cambaya goods. They also go to the Island of Camatra, whence they bring pepper, silk, raw silk, benzoin (great store) and gold, and to other islands bringing thence camphor and aloes-wood; they go to Tanacary, Peeguu, Bengala, Paleacate, Charamandel, Malabar and Cambaya, so much so that this city of Malacca is the richest seaport with the greatest number of wholesale merchants and abundance of shipping and trade that can be found in the whole world. Gold comes thither in such abundance that the leading merchants dealing in it do not value their estates nor keep their accounts except in *bahares* of gold, which *bahares* are four *quintals* each. There is a certain merchant there who alone will discharge three or four ships laden with every kind of valuable goods and re-lade them alone from his own stock. They deal also in victuals of various kinds, and all is well paid for and packed. In this city are many foreigners of various lands, who live there and are born in the country; these as I say are Moors with their own distinct language and are called *Malaios*. They are well set-up men and go bare from the waist up but are clad in cotton garments below. They, the most distinguished among them, wear short coats which come half way down their thighs, of silk, cloth—in grain or brocade—and over this they wear girdles; at their waists they carry daggers in damascene-work which they call *crus*. Their women are tawny coloured, clad in very fine silk garments and short shirts (decorated with gold and jewels). They are very comely, always well-attired, and have very fine hair.

"These Malaios hold the *Alcoram* of Mafamede in great veneration, they have their mosques; they bury their dead; their

sons are their heirs; they live in large houses outside the city with many orchards, gardens and tanks, where they lead a pleasant life. They have separate houses for their trade within the city; they possess many slaves with wives and children who live apart and obey all their orders. They are polished and wellbred, fond of music, and given to love. There are here also merchants (*Chetijs*) of Charamandel who are very corpulent with big bellies, they go bare above the waist, and wear cotton clothes below."

It was reserved for d'Albuquerque to carry laudation even to higher flights:—"I verily believe, if there were another world and a navigable route other than that we know, yet would all resort to Malacca for in her they would find every different sort of drugs and spices which can be mentioned in the world." But soon the Sultan and his chiefs were to look upon their harbour and its ships and its merchandise no more. For their port and their possessions the great d'Albuquerque was to take from them for ever, so that today of all their glory nothing survives except a few grave-stones and a gold-inlaid dragon creese of Sultan Muzaffar Shah.

IV

THE PORTUGUESE PERIOD.

i.

D'ALBUQUERQUE AT MALACCA.

Portugal's expansion overseas was a natural development and extension of the long struggle that had freed her from Moorish domination. From liberation to expansion, from Iberia to Africa, was a short step, which Castile too was to take in similar circumstances after the fall of Granada. On a wider view the Portuguese (and later Spanish) effort was the last of the Crusades, a further effort to attack Islam in flank and rear and so carry out the notion that had haunted European statesmen since the failure of the frontal attack in Syria. Her armadas were not designed to attack the great galleys of Genoa and Venice or to challenge Christian trade in the Mediterranean. As it developed, the Portuguese fleet was a sailing Atlantic fleet. As early as 1341 Portugal had sent an expedition to the Canaries and the beginning of the next century saw her sailors voyaging down the African coast. In 1488 Bartolomeu Dias doubled the Cape, in 1498 Vasco da Gama landed at Calicut, pioneer of the sea route to India. By the capture of Goa on 25 November, 1510, the great Affonso d'Albuquerque secured a fortified base enabling Portugal to venture further east to wrest from Muslim powers the trade of the Spice Islands and the trade with China. For this trade Diogo de Sequeira had visited Malacca in 1509.

Early in 1510 Diogo Mendez de Vasconcelos was sent from Portugal, instructed to avenge Malacca's treatment of de Sequeira, but his fleet was diverted to Goa. After the capture of Goa, he asked leave of d'Albuquerque to sail east on his mission, saying that his officers would murder him if he did not go. But by the hands of a friendly Moor 'Abdu'llah, d'Albuquerque had received a letter from the captive Ruy d'Araujo at Malacca, begging to be rescued from a cruel captivity and adding that d'Albuquerque should bring the largest fleet possible and inform the Malay Bendahara that he was not minded for war if the Sultan would surrender his Portuguese prisoners and put himself under the orders

of the King of Portugal. d'Albuquerque, therefore, quoted this letter and told Diogo Mendez that commerce with Malacca could not be effected by "four rotten ships and two rusty swords." With that spirit of insubordination that characterized the Portuguese and sapped their strength, Diogo Mendez persisted in hoisting sail, whereupon d'Albuquerque sent two galleys after him that fired and disabled his ship's mainsail and took him prisoner to be sent home to Portugal in disgrace.

As soon as he dared leave Goa, on 2 May, 1511 d'Albuquerque sailed from Cochin for Malacca with 19 ships, 800 Portuguese and 600 Indian troops. On the way he captured a Gujerati vessel and forced her pilot to guide his fleet to Pedir on the Sumatran coast, where he found eight Portuguese, who had escaped from durance at Malacca and told him how the chief enemy of de Sequeira, a Moor Noadabegea, had fled from Malacca and was now with the king of the neighbouring Sumatran State, Pasai. d'Albuquerque sailed to Pasai and demanded the surrender of Naodabegea, but the king, who had suggested to the Indian to make his peace with Malacca by reporting the coming of d'Albuquerque, declared that he had no news of him. Sailing on, the Portuguese caught sight of a swift Malay vessel, which they engaged, Aires Pereira dispatching the captain who though half-dead from sword-cuts did not bleed until an amulet of bone, set in gold, was removed from his arm: the Moors said he was Naodabegea. Then two large junks were sighted and chased: one from Coromandel struck at once, but the other, from Java, only after a desperate encounter, as it proved to be carrying the king of Pasai, who was going to beg his relative the king of Java help him quell a rebellion. As Pasai was a celebrated pepper market, d'Albuquerque begged the king's pardon very earnestly and promised to reinstate him on his return voyage. The king in gratitude remained with the Portuguese fleet. Close to Malacca another very rich junk, bound for Siam, was taken, and the Moors aboard her told d'Albuquerque that Ruy d'Araujo was alive and that Sultan Mahmud knew of his approach. Many other prizes would have fallen to the Portuguese but d'Albuquerque, anxious not to destroy the commerce of Malacca, gave them *safe-conducts!*

It was evening when the Portugese fleet decked with flags reached the harbour of Malacca and to the sound of trumpets and all their artillery cast anchor. Sultan Mahmud sent a Moor to enquire whether it was to be peace or war, and to carry the tidings that he had executed the Bendahara for complicity in the rising against de Sequeira. d'Albuquerque, dissembling, asked for the surrender of the captive Portuguese and for indemnity for de Sequeira's losses, to be paid out of the Bendahara's estate. The Sultan demanded that they should first make peace. d'Albuquerque reiterated his terms and threatened war. The Sultan erected stockades and made a show of his fleet of river-boats, while in the city the Moors, "Turks, Guzerates, Rumes and Coracones" bribed the Malay chiefs and told the king that d'Albuquerque would never dare to attack and must depart with the monsoon. Ruy de Araujo sent word that the Shahbandar of the Gujeratis had begged the Sultan not to conclude peace, as trade meant keen competition even when all engaged were of one nation, and trade was clearly impossible, when the competitors were Moors and Portuguese Christians. Moreover d'Albuquerque heard that it was not the attack on de Sequeira's men unarmed and under safe-guard in the city that had led to the execution of the Bendahara but that chief's attempt to stir up a revolution. He heard further that the Sultan himself had ordered the Portuguese to be put to the torture to compel them to accept Islam. Of these two pieces of news d'Albuquerque informed Mahmud, privily sending a message to Ruy de Araujo that, whatever the consequences to the prisoners, he could not further delay the attack. Ruy de Araujo replied that he was ready to die for God and his king; the Gujeratis were working day and night at the fortifications and the attack should be swift. d'Albuquerque sent an ultimatum, saying it was of no consequence if his ships waited one year or ten in that harbour, but that unless the Portuguese prisoners were delivered and compensation paid, the Sultan would soon lose his estate. Mahmud replied that he had not delivered the prisoners because he was having clothes made for them, and he asked d'Albuquerque to withdraw his ships from the front of the fort. d'Albuquerque withdrew his small vessels only and waited six days. After that he burnt some houses on the shore and all the ships in the port

except only five Chinese junks "and those which came from ports to the east of the Cape of Comorin, if they belonged to *Hindus*." At last the Sultan returned the prisoners and agreed to grant a site for a fortress and to pay for everything that had been taken from de Sequeira. d'Albuquerque waived other conditions but now communications from the shore ceased. Some days later d'Albuquerque saw the Malay stockades bedecked with flags and gave orders for an attack with armed boats and two barges with heavy bombards, in order to discover how many of the enemy rallied at the alarm, where their artillery was stationed and how they planned their defence. The Chinese offered the services of their crews and their five junks, declaring that beside the Malays the city contained more than 20,000 fighting men, Javanese, Persians and Saracens, 20 war-elephants and plenty of artillery and arms: moreover it was stocked with food supplies from Java. The Chinese doubted if it could be taken except by starvation. d'Albuquerque borrowed the barques of their junks for disembarking his men and sent a galley from which the Chinese could see how Portuguese fought.

Devoted to the Apostle James, d'Albuquerque delayed still further in order to start the attack on that Saint's day. Ruy de Araujo advised that they must first take the bridge over the river and so split the enemy's forces. d'Albuquerque agreed and ordered half his forces to disembark south on the side of the mosque, while he led the other half ashore on the north or city side. Two hours before dawn a trumpet sounded and captains and men-at-arms assembled on d'Albuquerque's ship for confession. As morning broke, the attack on the bridge began. As soon as the first fury of the Malay artillery was spent, the trumpets blew and with the war-cry "St. James" the Portuguese fell upon the stockades of the bridge, while an "infinite number of Moors" rushed up with bows and arrows, blow-pipes and lances and shields, and for a good space of time fought very bravely but were forced back, until the Sultan and his son mounted on war-elephants drove them once more to the stockades they had deserted. The mosque was captured and the bridge-head. Many Portuguese were wounded and some died of poisoned arrows. 700 Javanese coming under the Tuan

Bandar to fall on the Portuguese rear were put to flight before they could reach the stockades. Some were killed, while others jumped into the sea only to be slaughtered by Portuguese in boats. Established in the stockades, D. Joâo de Lima and his company pursued the Sultan's son, Ahmad, as he was retiring up the hill, and when Ahmad faced them, pricked the war elephants with their lances so that they turned tail and charged through the Malay ranks. Mortally wounded, Ahmad's elephant killed his mahout, while Ahmad wounded in the hand leapt down and escaped in the press. d'Albuquerque now erected palisades to protect the forces attacking the bridge and ordered that, as soon as a breeze blew from the sea, the city and the king's houses near the mosque should be fired. A great part of the city, a large store of merchandise and other things of price were burnt. It was now 2 p.m. and the Portuguese had not eaten anything and were suffering from the great heat. In vain d'Albuquerque hoped to get the palisades finished. When the sun had gone down, he drew off his men in boats under the fire of large match-locks, arrows and blow-pipes but carrying fifty large bombards (captured from the bridge stockades) and their wounded, about seventy in number. Of those struck by poisoned arrows, only one, Fernâo Gomez de Lemos, lived, and he was burnt with a red-hot iron directly he was struck. The *Malay Annals* say that, as the Portuguese retired, the Sultan's son Ahmad on his elephant remained on the bridge, indifferent to the fire of the Portuguese, while an Arab, his religious teacher, clung to the howdah and begged him to go back, crying that it was no place to think of the Unity of God.

The Malays now repaired the stockades on the bridge and mounted double the quantity of artillery which however had not the range of Portuguese cannon. The bridge was divided into sections with stout palisades and two more palisades were mounted with guns to command the approaches to the bridge from city and mosque. The principal mercenaries, the Javanese, received arrears of pay and three months' pay in advance as well, in spite of which their headman Utimutiraja, a very rich trader with five or six thousand slaves, sent a present of sandalwood to d'Albuquerque and promised him secret support. Scared of the sack of the city,

the foreign merchants now urged the Sultan to make peace but were chidden for their pains. Meanwhile d'Albuquerque armed a very tall junk that would overtower the bridge, and roofed it against rain-storms. For nine days the junk stuck on a sand-bank and though the Malays sent down barges of firewood, pitch and oil on the falling tide to set the junk on fire, the Portuguese protected it with bowsprits and harpoons hung with iron chains. Many of the captains held that the city had been punished enough and were doubtful if it could be captured; but convinced that if the Malacca trade were taken from the hands of the Moors "Cairo and Meca are entirely ruined and to Venice will no spiceries be conveyed except that which her merchants go and buy in Portugal," Affonso d'Albuquerque determined in his invincible mind to take the city and build a fortress therein. Unlike his rival Francisco d'Almeida and some of his captains, he was no believer in sea power, unsupported by fortified stations.

Two hours before dawn on Friday 10 August, the day of the blessed martyr St. Lawrence, the captains and their men, having received absolution, set out for the city on the high spring tide. The junk looked like a tower, with its loop-holed bulwarks and artillery, while on the main-mast was a round-top stored with darts, fireballs and stones. A cross-bow shot from the bridge, Antonio d'Abreu captain of the junk had some teeth and a bit of his tongue carried away by a bullet from a large matchlock and had to be relieved "more by force than by his own wish." While the junk was being grappled to the bridge, two boats with heavy guns (whose range was too short for effective fire from the roads) took up positions on both sides of the bay, to protect with their fire the flanks of the Portuguese. d'Albuquerque with all his remaining force landed on the north or city side of the river. Carrying the palisade that protected the landing-place he had two or three men killed while some eighty were hard hit. Next he ordered one company to seize the mosque and another the barricade that blocked the main street. Already Antonio d'Abreu in the junk had cleared the bridge of the enemy, who retreated to palisades between it and the mosque. These palisades, enfiladed by guns from the boats, were soon captured, their defenders fleeing to the mosque,

where was the Sultan, or (as Malay chronicles say, with more probability) the Sultan's son Ahmad with war elephants and 3,000 men mostly shieldsmen. Before the Portuguese arrived, the mosque was evacuated. With forces too few to divide and pursue the Sultan, d'Albuquerque was content to hold the bridge, the mosque and the palisades he had carried, until the bridge had been fortified with barrels of sand dug by his men under protection of the guns of boats that passed under the bridge and were posted at either bridgehead. Barrels, mattocks, shovels and ropes had been brought in the junk, and in a short while two very strong barricades were built and mounted with guns. Also, as the sun was very strong, the bridge and the junk were covered with palm-leaf awnings. Meanwhile as the Portuguese guarding the palisades on the city side were annoyed by the fire of bombards from the house-tops, Gaspar de Paiva, Antonio d'Abreu and other captains started to clear the streets with orders not to give quarter to any one, man, woman or child. An inconceivable number were butchered, and the barricades were completed without further inconvenience. That night d'Albuquerque spent on the bridge, having first visited the Portuguese wounded in the junk, none of whom died. The only deaths were due to poisoned arrows. All through the night the gun-boats bombarded the city but it was needless. The great port was conquered.

For ten days the Moors hid themselves, a few losing their lives as they crept out to look for food in the city. The first to come and ask for mercy were the Peguans (or Burmese), who were kindly received and allowed to depart with all their property. So, too, Hindu merchants, who came from Cape Comorin to the eastwards and had no ships, were given free exportation for their wares, wherefore they soon restarted their trade from India to Malacca. When all danger was past, d'Albuquerque gave leave to sack the city, warning his men not to touch the houses of Ninachatu, the Hindu who had befriended Ruy de Araujo. 3,000 pieces of artillery, 2,000 of them bronze, were taken; for "the gun founders in Malacca were as good as those in Germany." The spoil was divided among captains and men, d'Albuquerque keeping for himself only the bracelet of Noadabegea and for his own tomb six large

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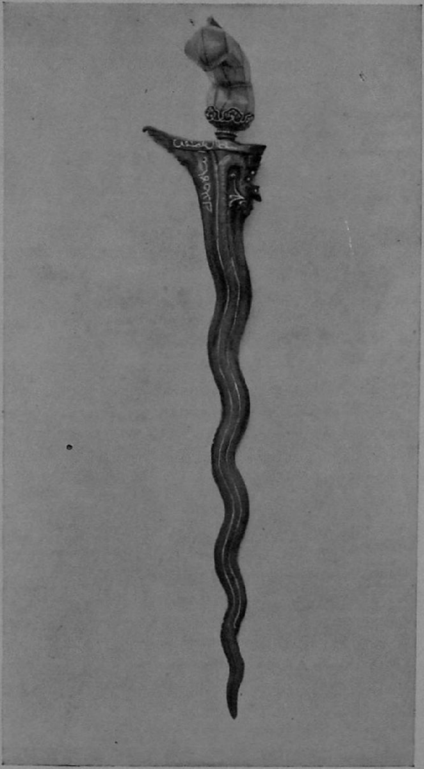

Creese of Muzaffar Shah, Sultan of Malacca (died 1458 A. D.).

bronze lions from the sepulchres of Malacca's kings, while for King Manuel and Queen Maria he reserved jewellery and the brocaded howdahs and gold-plated palanquins of Sultan Mahmud, some women skilled in embroidery and many young girls and youths of noble family—all destined to be lost in the wreck of the *Flor de la Mar* off Aru on the Sumatran coast. Meanwhile Sultan Mahmud stayed a day's journey from Malacca, hoping for reinforcements from Lingga and expecting d'Albuquerque to loot the city and depart. But after ten days, hearing of the building of a wooden fort, he retreated further away, while his son at Pagoh built a stockade at Bentayan on the Muar estuary and barred the river. To deal with this menace, d'Albuquerque sent 400 Portuguese, 600 Javanese and 300 Peguans. The prince could make no resistance and fled, leaving behind him gilt and painted palanquins, and seven elephants with their howdahs.

The Sultan and his son having crossed overland to Pahang, d'Albuquerque ordered the Javanese to scour the country-side for fugitive Malays who might be set in chains to build the fortress. 1,500 slaves he treated as the chattels of King Manuel, just as they had been of the Sultan, ordering that when working at the fortress they should be given wages and provisions but at other times should labour for their own living.

Although Ruy de Araujo never expected to find enough stone for the fortress, yet so great a quantity of stone and masonry was discovered "in some ancient sepulchres of by-gone kings, which were situated on the land beneath the surface of the ground, and in the mosques that were thrown down, that two fortresses might well have been constructed." The foundations were dug as deep as a war lance. Inside there were already two wells of drinking water. There was a tall keep as a defence against the hill which commanded the fort, the site being chosen because ships could come alongside with reinforcements. The fort stood on the sea-shore to the south-east of the river where Sultan Mahmud had built his palace. "After the fortress was finished" d'Eredia remarks, "and stood complete with its artillery and garrison of soldiers, it created among the Malayos a feeling of intense dread and astonishment which lasted permanently to the great credit and

honour of the Crown of Portugal." d'Albuquerque prepared a slab inscribed with the names of his principal officers but as they fell out over the order of graven precedence, he turned its face inwards over a gateway and on the reverse cut the text *Lapidem quem reprobaverunt edificantes,* "The stone which the builders rejected." Being very much devoted to Our Lady he built on the hill a church, still standing though known today as St. Paul's but then called Our Lady of the Annunciation.

Advised by Ninachatu that the want of a currency caused great inconvenience and anxious to withdraw the Malay coinage, which was mainly of tin, d'Albuquerque after consulting the principal men and merchants decided to mint three values of tin money, one of silver (from Siam), one of gold (from Pahang and Minangkabau). To notify the change of currency there was a procession of elephants, one carrying the flag of the King of Portugal, one a Moor who cried the proclamation, and one a Portuguese and Ninachatu's son who both scattered the new coins among the people. The Peguans now reminded d'Albuquerque of his promise to let them sail home and were allowed to go, but one of the sons of the pilot was so interested in the erection of the fortress that he stayed behind with 100 Peguans to work at it.

When the fort was of such a height that it could be defended, news reached d'Albuquerque that Utimutiraja (or Timuta Raja), headman of the Javanese and a self-made man about 80 or 90 years of age, had written to the ex-Sultan telling him of the smallness of the Portuguese garrison and offering to help in any Malay attack for the recovery of Malacca. He obstructed the circulation of the new Portuguese currency in the Javanese quarter, Upeh. His followers were robbing Moors who had returned to the town under Portuguese safeguards, and he himself was seizing for his own use slaves and properties of the Sultan and the Malay chiefs. Finally he bought up all the imported rice and tried to secure a monopoly. These misdemeanours were due to the favour d'Albuquerque showed to Hindus as compared with Muslims. d'Albuquerque arranged for a meeting of the principal inhabitants at the fortress, among them Utimutiraja, who was then and there arrested and along with his son, son-in-law and grandson sentenced

to be beheaded on a lofty scaffold in the midst of the square, where the bodies were left from morning until evening. The widow having in vain tried to bribe d'Albuquerque to spare her husband now induced one Patih Kadir to take revenge on the Hindus who had denounced him, but d'Albuquerque put the Javanese forces to the sword in the public streets. Taking the widow of Utimutiraja and all the property he could remove, Patih Kadir escaped inland, burning all the country houses of Hindus and maintaining a rebellion for ten or twelve days, after which he asked for and got pardon and was given the post of headman which Utimutiraja had enjoyed, though he soon lost it by his treachery.

During the attack on Malacca, d'Albuquerque had sent an envoy to Siam by the departing Chinese junks. This envoy now returned with protestations of friendship for the Portuguese, and d'Albuquerque sent back a Siamese ambassador, who had accompanied the envoy, with rich presents for the Lord of the White Elephant and an expression of hope that Siam would trade with Malacca. The Sultan of Kampar, son-in-law of Mahmud of Malacca, came with ten vessels to Muar and sent presents to d'Albuquerque with a request to become a vassal of the King of Portugal. The king of Java, who had hated the king of Malacca for his tyranny towards Javanese traders, sent a dozen long lances, a picture of himself going to battle with his war elephants, a *gamelan* set with live players, two very large bells and an offer of men and supplies: in return d'Albuquerque sent him one of the elephants he had captured. At the same time some Minangkabaus, who were then Hindus, came to exchange gold for Indian cloths. In November d'Albuquerque sent three ships under Antonio d'Abreu to explore the Spice Islands, with instructions to molest no ships of Moors or Hindus on the voyage but to give presents to the kings and chiefs of all the countries they visited. The loot taken from ships on his voyage to Malacca d'Albuquerque sent to Pasai to exchange for pepper for the Chinese market. In a very short time there was a brisk trade at Malacca.

The fort completed, d'Albuquerque assembled all the officers of his fleet and telling them he must depart for Goa with the monsoon debated the form of government advisable for Malacca, and the size of the garrison, and what ammunition and ships should

be left there. It was decided to have a Captain of the Fort with a Captain of the Fleet as his second in command. For his great services Ruy de Araujo was made Factor and overseer of the fortress and decider of disputes between native headmen. Ninachatu was appointed headman of the Hindus, a Kathi of the Moors, Regunecerage head of the Javanese at Upeh, and Tuan Calascar head of those elsewhere. The native merchants could not understand how d'Albuquerque could leave a place so rich and important and begged him to stay but he replied he must attend to matters at Goa. At the last moment he was detained a day by the secret disappearance of the Sultan of Pasai, whom he kept in his house treating him with all courtesy. The Sultan could not be found and at the end of 1511 d'Albuquerque sailed away. At the time of his shipwreck off Aru (the modern Deli in Sumatra), 60 Javanese carpenters whom he was taking with their wives and children to the dockyards at Cochin, rose in rebellion, captured the junk on which they were passengers and escaped to Pasai.

ii.

PORTUGAL'S STRUGGLE WITH JAVA, JOHOR AND ACHEH.

d'Albuquerque had scotched but not killed rebellion and war. Patih Kadir now fortified the Javanese quarter and headed a revolt, being aided by a fleet brought to the Muar river by Malacca's former Admiral, the Laksamana Hang Nadim, a hero who was to boast of four and thirty wounds got in battle against the Infidel. This attempt to capture Malacca was crushed for the moment by admiral Perez d'Andrade. But there were too many Javanese in Malacca lightly to submit to Portuguese domination. Upeh, their suburb, was full of traders from Majapahit's port Tuban, from Malacca's rice market Japara and from Sunda, while at Bandar Hilir lived the settlers from Grisek, which had eclipsed Tuban as a mart for the spices of the Moluccas. In 1509 the rivalry between Sultan Mahmud and Utimutiraja had been so great that the Malays feared to be subjected to Java. Then came the execution of Utimutiraja by d'Albuquerque and the defeat of Patih Kadir by d'Andrade. Ignorant of this defeat, in 1513 one Patih Unus tried to surprise the city, bringing a hundred ships with some 10,000 men, Javanese from Japara and from Palembang: defeated,

Patih Unus sailed home and beached his war-ship as a monument of a fight against men he called the bravest in the world, his exploit winning him a few years later the throne of Demak.

In July 1514 Jorge d'Albuquerque took over the Captaincy of the Malacca fortress from Ruy de Brito, to find that 'Abdu'llah, Sultan of Kampar in Sumatra and son-in-law of Mahmud last Sultan of Malacca, having paid his respects to Affonso d'Albuquerque in 1511, now tendered his services, whereupon a captain was sent to Kampar to offer him the post of Bendahara or chief of the "Moors"—in place, perhaps, of Ninachatu, who deposed for misconduct is said to have immolated himself on a pyre in the public square. The Portuguese captain discovered, that, furious over 'Abdu'llah's relations with his enemies or suspicious lest 'Abdu'llah aimed at gaining the Malacca throne for himself, Sultan Mahmud had summoned another son-in-law the ruler of Lingga to his aid and had despatched forces from his new capital at Bintan (Riau) with orders to attack Kampar. Kampar was saved by a fleet under Jorge Botelho, who carried 'Abdu'llah back to Malacca where he filled his mayoral office with propriety until traduced covertly by the spiteful Mahmud for intended treachery to the Portuguese he lost his head on the public scaffold. Many Malays now followed the Javanese in leaving a city dangerous for Muslims to inhabit, so that deprived of agriculturists and rice-dealers and threatened always by Mahmud's war-boats the port found itself short of provisions and Jorge Botelho, who spoke Malay, was sent to Siak to try to get food-supplies from Minangkabau. Reinforcements arrived from Malacca at the Siak estuary just in time to save Botelho from an attack by the Malay Laksamana from Riau, but his emissaries upcountry were well received and returned accompanied by Minangkabau traders bringing provisions, gold and aloe-wood. As Botelho had not brought any equivalent to exchange for the gold, he took the Minangkabaus to Malacca promising them safe-conduct for their return.

In 1516 Jorge d'Albuquerque was relieved by Jorge de Brito with instructions from Lisbon which in spite of his predecessor's warnings he proceeded to fulfil. All slaves and lands were to be divided up among Portuguese and no vessel was to trade in the

archipelago without a Portuguese commander. Under Malay rule slaves had had liberty to earn their own living provided they rendered forced service in case of need. The lands belonged to Malays. And it was now useless for any Asiatic trader to live at Malacca. The new regulations threatened to depopulate the place and had to be cancelled. de Brito died and while his officers disputed who should act in his place, the war-boats of Sultan Mahmud came to Muar and cut off Malacca's food supplies. Though reinforcements arrived from Goa and China, the want of food-stuffs afflicted the Portuguese with sickness, and having quietened their suspicions by an offer of peace, the Malays attacked Malacca by land and sea and were with difficulty repulsed. Soon afterwards, the owner of a Javanese junk captured by the Laksamana escaped to Malacca and declared that the Malay fort at the Muar estuary could be taken from the land-side, offering himself to provide a native force. Suspicious at first that it was a ruse the Portuguese accepted the offer, and though the land-track was swampy, the Portuguese troops and fleet arrived together, set the fort on fire and won a fight that cost the Malays three hundred lives. An attempt by the commander, Duarte de Mello, to go upriver to Pagoh was foiled by the Malay defences and the Portuguese retired with many of the enemy's guns. Correa relates that in this fight the Portuguese captured a Siamese prince, who was in league with Mahmud, and that in gratitude for his release the king of Siam sent Malacca a cargo of foodstuffs. In 1519 hearing of a meagre garrison Sultan Mahmud again attacked Malacca by land and sea and, though he failed, reduced the city to want until in May a small fleet under Antonio Correa brought supplies from Pegu. In June 1520 Correa fetched provisions from the same source. And now Garcia de Sá, Captain of the Fortress, determined, if possible, to destroy Pagoh the stronghold on the Muar from which Sultan Mahmud's chiefs launched their attacks on Malacca. With a force of 500 men, of whom 150 were Portuguese, he made a spirited assault and burnt both the Malay fleet and the fort, a success that kept Mahmud quiet for a long while.

In October 1521 having succeeded Garcia de Sá at Malacca, Jorge d'Albuquerque and Jorge de Brito with a force of 600 men

failed in an attempt to take Mahmud's stronghold at Bintang and lost a brigantine in the attempt. This stimulated the Malays to further aggression. The Laksamana Hang Nadim and the Bendahara Paduka Raja molested shipping, a task easier because recently the Portuguese had often committed piracy and had incurred the hate of the whole archipelago. At Pahang and off Java Portugal's ships were captured. Portuguese landed in Pahang unaware of the ties between it and Johor: several were killed at once and others who refused to accept Islam were blown from guns.

1523 and 1524 saw two Portuguese fleets attack Bintang to retire with heavy losses. Dissensions among the Malays sometimes served their enemy's cause, as when Mahmud ordered Narasinga, Raja of Indragiri, to ravage Lingga for being in league with Portugal, while his own forces again attacked Malacca: the attack on Malacca failed and Maharaja Isup of Lingga with Portuguese aid saved his country. Again with the help of a renegade Portuguese the Laksamana beset Malacca and cut off its food supplies (till a fowl cost 50 ducats), only retiring in May 1525 at the approach of a fleet that brought Pedro Mascarenhas to relieve Jorge d'Albuquerque. After a first unsuccessful attempt to deal with Bintang, Mascarenhas set out on 23 October 1526 with 2[illegible] ships, 550 Portuguese and 600 Malays and sacked Bengkalis vassal port of Johor on the Sumatran coast, thereafter hea[illegible] Mahmud's own stronghold. The near island of Bula[illegible] in smoke and flame, and scouts reported the wh[illegible] Portuguese fleet heading for Riau. Of an incid[illegible] there are two versions in the *Malay Annals*, [illegible] event, the other revised by a scribe determi[illegible] the Bendaharas. According to the e[illegible] that house, the Temenggong, Sri [illegible] out his proper duty of streng[illegible] compile a roster of the work[illegible] and made such a stupid me[illegible] "If ever Sri Awadana be[illegible] The latter version ski[illegible] gifts the Temenggon[illegible] he was about to [illegible] shame over an[illegible]

a hole in it, a notched water-vessel in a broken stand, a cracke Chinese dish, a cracked cup, a saucer, two old cooking-pots and three slaves! It took fourteen days before the Kota Kara or outer fort fell and then a direct assault on the strongly fortified bridge joining as in Malacca the two banks led to such heavy losses that Mascarenhas making a feint of a frontal attack sent forces overland through mangrove swamps and surprised the enemy. At last, Kopak, the Bintang capital, was captured and burnt. A fleet from Pahang arrived too late and was beaten off. Riau was given by the Portuguese to their ally and helper, the Raja of Lingga. Sultan Mahmud fled to Kampar where in 1528 he died. His loss of Malacca and the destruction of his palm-thatched Bintang capital easily give a false view of the extent of damage done to the Portuguese by Mahmud's interminable hostility. Continually he damaged the trade of Malacca not only by fighting but by the influence he had upon the rulers of the east coast of Sumatra, whose rivers were highways for supplying Malacca with gold, pepper and that staple of the port's life, rice. His endless attacks must have helped, too, to break down Portuguese morale, inducing that recklessness and that proneness to corruption which danger produced in so many early seamen adventurers but which creased beyond measure in the minds of traders working in fear steaming heat of offices in company with the motley un- crowd that thronged Malacca. Sultan Mahmud left two er 'Ala'u'd-din, whose mother was of the Bendahara elder, Muzaffar, whose mother was a Siamese n was chosen by his mother's relations to founded a new capital up the Johor river, went to Perak and started its present

cia de Sá was Captain of the in concert with a wealthy " by the Portuguese and surprise the city, while gging at one of those t the cat out of Naya and cast

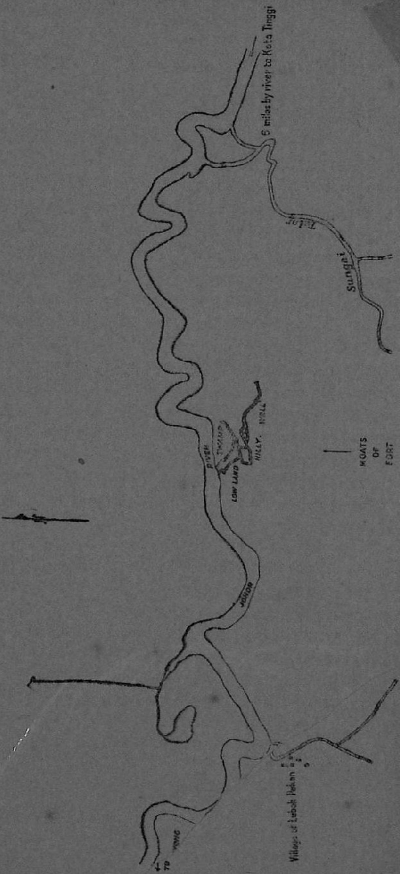

Fig. 13. Remains of a fort, Sungai Telor.

him from the top of the castle keep, a mode of execution that created a precedent. It happened as follows. In 1533 Tuan Barcalar (? = Laksamana), commander of a Johor fleet of 27 war-boats, returning from helping Muzaffar of Perak, called at Malacca under the pretence of welcoming its new Captain, Estevão da Gama, son of the famous navigator, and offering him the friendship of the youthful 'Ala'u'd-din. Not to be outdone in courtesy da Gama sent an envoy to 'Ala'u'd-din's new capital but the Malays, aware now of the affair of Sang Naya and convinced that the envoy had come only to spy out the land, hurled him down from the top of a tall tree. Again, Malay war-boats assembled on the Muar in order to molest Malacca's commerce and attacking a small force that rashly tried odds with them killed Paulo, brother of the Malacca Captain, and some thirty of his men. In June 1535 Dom Estavâo da Gama with two large vessels and a score of small and 400 men sailed to the Johor river and vainly bombarded Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din's fort,—whose moats still exist on the Sungai Telor above Kota Tinggi. The Malays refused to be drawn. da Gama then landed troops, but sickness and lack of ammunition made their commander decide to retreat, when the enemy was rash enough to sally out and attempt a hand to hand engagement. Their heavy losses now forced the Malays to flee up the Johor river past the mouth of its tributary the Sayong, just above which, to block pursuit, they felled a large tree at a spot ditch-wide, called Rebat (The Obstruction) unto this day. da Gama destroyed the fort Sungai Telor and sailed back to Malacca. Still the Johor fleet to ;d Malacca shipping. So, again, in 1536 da Gama sailed mercen hor river with 400 Portuguese troops and many Malay the battle in spite of a brave defence, Portuguese artillery won sued for peace flicted such losses on the Malays that 'Ala'u'd-din Portugal. Anyhow came to live at Muar, ostensibly the friend of flourished. There was acks on Malacca shipping ceased and trade of 300 Portuguese trading Portuguese factor in Pahang and we hear Patani.

It was fear of a new Musl. power, Acheh, that now made Pahang and Perak as well as Joho. friendly with the Portuguese. In 1292 Marco Polo had found Isla. established in Perlak and

Pasai, provinces of the later kingdom of Acheh; and in 1345 Ibn Batutah found yet another province, Samudra, walled and using a tin coinage and bar gold from China. In the middle of the fourteenth century the region was conquered, like the Malay Peninsula, by the great Javanese empire of Majapahit. But in 1416 the Chinese reported it a country of Muslim agriculturists, planters of hill rice and pepper, breeders of cattle and goats and poultry. And a century later, the fall of Malacca and the Portuguese hatred of Muslims and their arrogation of that trade monopoly which formerly the Gujeratis had there enjoyed, attracted to Acheh merchants from Calicut, Bengal, Ceylon, Pegu and even Turkey and made it wealthy and ambitious to confound the Portuguese and all their allies. Tolls wrung from foreign shipping and restrictions on the trade of her own allies were to lose Portugal much of the Sumatran trade and lead to the rise of her new rival. In 1519 Acheh, still insignificant, had pirated a Portuguese vessel in distress off its coasts, killed some of its crew and captured others, whose release was eventually effected by the Shahbandar of Pasai. Then Jorge de Brito visited Acheh and in spite of a friendly welcome was tempted by talk of a mosque full of gold to attack the port, only to be beaten off and driven to his boats. The conquest of the pepper ports, Pedir and Pasai, made Acheh rich from the trade in that commodity with Gujerat and from the still greater trade with China. And in September 1537 some three thousand Achinese forces attempted to surprise her rival, Malacca: the first night they landed but were driven back to their ships; the following two nights, with torches fixed high above the ramparts to reveal the enemy, the Portuguese inflicted such losses on him that it was some years before he repeated the attempt.

In 1539, however, 'Ala'u'd-din Riayat Shah, Sultan of Acheh, raided and took Deli (Aru), hitherto a fief of the Malacca house. The Achinese had a fleet of 160 keels, mostly swift rowing-boats, manned partly by mercenaries from Malabar and Gujerat and even from Turkey and Abyssinia. But calling upon his relatives at Siak and Perak for aid, the young king of Johor mustered a fleet that helped by its enemy's ignorance of local tides beat his Achinese trade rivals in a great sea-fight which cost them 13,500

men and all but fourteen ships. So Pinto, recording Homeric numbers. It was a bitter defeat whose rankling led almost to the extinction of the Malacca dynasty. It was also a glorious victory, the first Malay success since the fall of Malacca, heartening the victors to their old-time pursuit of dynastic quarrels and trade monopoly. For the Portuguese it must have been sheer delight to see their rivals flying at one another's throats.

Rich from an Indian trade that Malacca was unable to prevent, by 1547 the king of Acheh again had "the force of a Prince to play the part of a Pirate; he took some Junks of Provisions, and at sea behaved himself insolently to some ships of his Friends, his success heightened his confidence. Landing by Night in the Port of Malacca, only to say he had set footing on ground that Liv'd under Portuguese obedience and with this glory won solely by stealth, he immediately returned on Board"—with some geese, whose cackling had roused the garrison! The Achinese burnt two Portuguese vessels in the harbour, and capturing seven fishermen cut off their noses, ears and feet and sent the Portuguese commander a challenge written in their blood. "The City was in an Uproar.... Simao de Mello was as sensible of the King of Acheh's Cowardice, as if it had been an outrage; so sacred were the walls of that Fortress, as if to march towards them had been an insolence, to look on them a Crime." But having insufficient forces Simao de Mello refused to accept the challenge, whereupon St. Francis Xavier prophesying the timely arrival of two galliots persuaded some merchants to fit out a fleet of two great carvels, two galleys and six fly-boats. The galliots duly arrived from Patani and the little fleet set ou under Francisco Deca to follow the Achinese, whom they found ly ng off the coast of Kedah, busy erecting a fort some miles up the Perlis river as a base for attacks on Portuguese ships faring between Malacca and Bengal and Pegu (Burma). The king of Kedah had fled overland to Patani. Just then the royal cousins of Johor, Perak and Pahang, fresh from intimidating the ruler of Patani into a settlement of old grievances, sailed their fleet of 300 boats and 8,000 men into the Muar estuary, where they lay for several days that seemed to the Portuguese years. Had they come, as the Sultan pretended, to

assist Catholic Portugal against their Muslim foe, Acheh? Or, if that sea-fight went against the white man, would they contrary to all precedent assist Acheh, making their peace with her in order to recover their ancient home? In the midst of his Sunday preaching St. Francis Xavier fell into an ecstasy and saw in his trance the Portuguese fleet drubbing the twenty great vessels of the Achinese away on the Perlis river. The Malay flotilla departed. But in June 1551, against his old admiral's advice and bitter distrust, Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din of Johore, leagued with his cousins of Perak and Pahang, with the king of "Marruaz" (? = Bruas) and the Queen of Japara in Java, collected a fleet of 200 sail and some 5,000 men to attack Malacca. The old Laksamana had refused the errand, and his son was sent to invite the Portuguese to send two ships to join in a pretended campaign against Acheh but he carried secretly a letter from his father warning Pedro da Silva da Gama, Captain of the Fortress, that Malacca was the real objective. On 11 June 1551 the Malays burnt the ships in the harbour, then captured the suburbs with their supplies and finally endeavoured to carry *A Famosa*, the famous fortress, by assault; but having lost 800 men under a shower of timber, stones and grenades, they sat down to starve the defenders, until a rumour that a Portuguese fleet had left to harry the harbours of Johor, Perak and Pahang caused all but the Javanese to raise the siege. After a while these were driven off with heavy losses and the three months' siege ended.

When Antãio de Noronha came to Goa in 1564, he heard that the Sultan of Acheh had formed a league of princes against the Infidel and that the Sultan of Turkey had sent 500 gunners and a large supply of guns and ammunition. It was not religion however that prompted Acheh to fight but Portugal's insistence on monopolies and her sinking of Achinese vessels on their voyages to India and the Red Sea. That trade and dynastic ambitions actuated Achinese politics is shown by her attitude to the Muslim empire of Johor. In 1540 Johor had overwhelmed Acheh's fleet before Aru. Now in 1564 Acheh not only recovered Aru but sacked the fortified town of Johor Lama, removing 'Ala'u'd-din, Johor's first Sultan, to Acheh where he died or was murdered.

In 1568 Acheh attacked Malacca with a fleet of three great galliots manned by Malabarese, four galleys, sixty fustas and galliots and more than 300 smaller craft. This armada carried 15,000 soldiers besides 400 Turks, a number of slaves and 200 bronze cannon. The Sultan was in command and pretending that his expedition was against Demak (the great Javanese kingdom which more fearful of Acheh than of Portugal had refused to join the Muslim league) he sent an envoy who under torture confessed that he had come to kill the Captain of the fortress and fire the granaries. Decapitated and with hands and feet lopped off, his corpse was put in a boat to drift back to the Achinese fleet. The Sultan pretending ignorance of this incident said that he wanted to buy rice which was given him. Finally he unshipped his guns and surrounded the city. Dom Leonis Pereira had only 200 of his countrymen in his force of 1,500 men and sent messengers to Johor and Kedah inviting their aid. Priests undertook to defend one position but took refuge in a church when fighting began. In vain the Sultan tried to win the Tamil and Javanese settlers to his side. On 16 February he led a general assault, in which he lost his eldest son, the ruler of Aru, and 4,000 men. The king of Johor arrived in time for the jubilations, with a fleet of sixty vessels. In revenge Acheh burnt the villages on the Johor river and joined a league of Indian princes against the Portuguese, but twice her fleets were defeated by Luiz de Mello. In October 1573 an Achinese fleet of ninety sail, carrying 7,000 men, appeared in the Malacca roads and sent men ashore to burn the southern suburbs but a fierce storm drove them home.

At the end of 1574 angered at the harm done to her commerce in the Archipelago by the Portuguese, the queen of Japara sent a force to invest Malacca, but the failure of Acheh and Johor to support her allowed the Portuguese, in spite of the smallness of their garrison and their fleet, to repel the Javanese invader. On 1 February 1575 an Achinese fleet arrived and beleaguered the city but for some inexplicable reason retired. Then, notwithstanding a Portuguese fort at Perak's estuary, Acheh conquered that State and carried off the eldest son of the Sultan (kinsman and ally of Johor) to become, prince of the Malacca house though he was,

the next ruler of Acheh. This Malay king of Acheh, 'Ala'u'd-din or Mansur Shah, married his daughter to her kinsman the Johor Sultan, Ali Jalla 'Abdu'l-Jalil Riayat Shah, but so far was this alliance from staying the attacks of the Achinese captains on Johor, that the murder of Raja Ashem, its issue, by a usurper of the Achinese throne was destined to add fuel to the fire of an ancient hate. One Achinese attack in 1582, just after the marriage, the Portuguese helped to repel, whereupon Ali Jalla 'Abdu'l-Jalil Riayat Shah, went to Malacca to tender his thanks and according to d'Eredia "a trade in spices and metals, including a large quantity of tin" grew up between Johor and Malacca. But in 1584 the Portuguese removed their merchant from Johor, as junks from Java were paying dues to the Sultan instead of to Malacca, and insistent on their monopoly the Portuguese pirated Johor craft. In dudgeon the Sultan sank old junks to block the Singapore straits to carracks voyaging from China to the Moluccas, whereupon the Portuguese found a new passage for their ships south of Singapore which they named after Santa Barbara. Trade rivalry came to such a pass, that in 1586 Johor invested Malacca by land and sea, calling to her aid the Minangkabau betel-dealers of Naning and Rembau, fiefs of the Bendahara from Malay days, whom it took 100 Portuguese and 600 native troops to defeat. Early in 1587, having failed to negotiate terms through the Catholic Bishop of Malacca, "Rajale of Jor," as the English called him, again blockaded the port by land and sea, stopping supplies and preventing Portuguese ships from passing between India and China. The Viceroy raised loans from the cities of Goa, Bassein and Chaul and on 28 April sent 3 galleons, 2 galleys, 4 galliots and 7 fustas with 500 men under Paola de Lima to relieve the beleaguered city. Temporarily Acheh had made friends with Johor. The Portuguese therefore decided that Johor must be destroyed. In July 1587 Antonio de Noronha was watching the Johor river with galleons that were helpless against fast Malay row-boats, until Simao d'Abreu arrived with galleys and fustas and took the galleons in tow. The Portuguese bombarded the town of Johor Lama (which they called the Stone Fort) for two days (20–21 July), doing damage estimated at 200,000 ducats! In spite of d'Abreu's advice, de Noronha then chanced his arm with three hundred soldiers

against the great palisade-topped earthworks that bristled with cannon and were defended by 10,000 men, warriors from Java and Minangkabaus, forces from Trengganu, Indragiri and Kampar. de Noronha failed and had to be rescued by the other captains. On 6 August Dom Paolo de Lima arrived and nine days later forced his way through the defences. After strenuous resistance, the Malays scattered into the surrounding forest. de Lima set fire to the town, recovering great booty of precious metals and costly wares that were buried in the ground:—to this day are dug up broken bronze vessels, prehistoric beads, coins, Majapahit amulets, innumerable shards of Chinese porcelain, relics of the greatest port on a river navigated for at least two thousand years. 2,000 large and small vessels, 1,000 guns mostly small, and 1,500 muskets are said to have been taken. The Portuguese lost only 80 men, while the Malays lost thousands! Acheh sent envoys to congratulate Malacca and ceased to hinder Portuguese trade. But fearful lest Johor might retaliate on Portuguese shipping, in October de Lima was sacking and burning the villages of Bintang (Riau).

Inside a decade, Johor had recovered enough to renew the war with Acheh over the murdered prince, Raja Ashem. It made Aru (Deli) throw off allegiance to its foe and become a vassal of Johor. It pressed Acheh so hard that in 1599 her usurper king, 'Ala'u'd-din Riayat Shah, promised John Davis cargos of pepper in return for help against his namesake Johor's new Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din, the drunkard of the Dutch records. In 1599 too, Acheh even despatched an embassy to Goa, which after a ceremonial reception and lavish entertainment was sent home in a Portuguese ship with a monk as interpreter to suggest to the Sultan to murder and seize the ships of "Dutch pirates and traitors who had risen against their rightful king." In 1600 the Portuguese, afraid of Dutch competition, proffered the usurper aid if they might have the strongest fort in Acheh. In 1601 a Johor fleet of 60 war-boats lay before Pasai, and Acheh feared an alliance between Johor and Portugal. Yet, his harbour full of trading vessels from Gujerat, Malabar, Bengal and Pegu, that "great Bacchus" the lusty old usurper who ate off gold plate and swilled toddy in the court of Acheh was soon strong enough to sally up the Johor river and

beset Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din at Batu Sawar, now in d'Eredia's phrase "the Metropolitan Court of the Malaios"; only raising the siege from lack of supplies. So ineffective were the marauding tactics of the day against capitals of palm-thatched huts and dug-outs, that it appeared as if there could be no end to a fight where combatants changed sides as it suited them, that long-drawn triangular fight between Portugal, Johor and Acheh. Then to Acheh famous for her international trade came the early English and Dutch voyagers, tolerant of Islam, and bringing letters from their sovereigns to ask for commercial privileges.

iii.

THE DEATH-BLOW FROM HOLLAND.

England's desire to find new markets for her cloth brought Portugal one rival in her Eastern trade. As early as 5 January 1586, hearing of Cavendish's voyage, the Portuguese had sent a galleon *Reys Magos* to warn Malacca and Goa, a galleon whose captain, Joâo Gago, old and gouty, had on the voyage to direct a fight with an English ship from his chair on the poop. In 1588 when Ralph Fitch spent seven weeks in Malacca, the King of Spain had ordered that no Englishman was to be allowed there. In 1596 the Viceroy at Goa was so troubled at hearing of the voyage of Benjamin Wood that on 24 September 1597 he sent a fleet in pursuit of him.

But more formidable was the rivalry of the Netherlands. Europe's distributors of East Indian produce were the Dutch, and now irked by their partial and intermittent exclusion from Portuguese ports, they determined no longer to act as middlemen in Europe but to sail East and tap the source of the spice trade. In 1594 Philip closed even Lisbon to them. In 1598 the King was writing from Lisbon of "Hollander corsairs" and warned the Viceroy "to have in the sea of Malacca a fleet such as there used to be, reinforcing it according to the present greater need, in order to prevent the Hollanders from going to those parts and to give them the chastisement they deserve, whereby they will not be so imprudent as to return." On 17 March 1598 His Majesty instructed the Viceroy "to extinguish and destroy the novelty of this navigation so prejudicial to our service." For in the seven years following

1595 no less than 65 Dutch ships had visited the Eastern seas. In 1603 the Chamber at Goa in its annual letter to the king reported that the Dutch had not only captured a ship voyaging from Santomé to Malacca with a cargo worth 300,000 cruzados but three or four more taking money to Bengal, and off Johor the richest carrack that had ever left China. "The fortress of Malacca," it continued, is without provisions nor can it obtain any, because the Hollanders stopped those that the Javanese were bringing." The people were perishing of famine and the King was asked to send a fleet, which should not visit India for fear lest India's great needs diverted it, but sail direct to Malacca, seeing that "without the South there is no India." As early as 1606 the Dutch made a treaty with Johor for the capture of Malacca from their common enemy, the Portuguese, and thereafter except for temporary lapses, when the Dutch failed to protect her, Johor was on the side of Portugal's enemies.

Acheh also continued hostile. In April 1615 Arthur Spaight wrote from the *Hector* in Acheh roads that "iron is much inquired after, for that the king is building of galleys and preparing to go to Malacca." A few months later Richard Rowe reported that the king "has of his fleet three hundred and odd sails of junks, galleys, frigates and prows, pretending to carry over the straits near a hundred thousand men." In the autumn of 1615 the Portuguese fought the Achinese for three days and three nights off Muar, and passing vessels "saw great fires." In June 1616 the kings of Acheh and "Jor" tried to take Malacca with "an infinite number of people and galleys." Of an armada of four galleons coming from Goa to destroy the Dutch and English at Bantam and the Moluccas one was sunk by the Achinese and three were burnt by the Dutch off Malacca before Joao de Silva could join them. "The Portingalls because they would still be accounted valiant go about by fabulous reports to maintain their declining reputation," declaring, for example, that one of their ships sank twelve out of an English fleet of sixteen sail. But doomed though they were, the Portuguese were gallant fighters. On 6 December 1630 President William Hoare wrote to the East India Company from Bantam. "The King of Achin, having two years since besieged Malacca both by sea and land, received a greate overthrowe

from the Portingalls sent thither to ytts reliefe; wherat impatient, he vowed revenge, and collecting this last yeare his whole power of vessels, ordinance and more than 20,000 men, imbarqued them to ruein of Malacca aforesaid; where allso arriveing hee attempted, but fayling begirt yt agayne with a strong power and for some moneths attended, eyther by force or famine to subvert yt. But the Vice-King of Goa, not ydle in itts succour, ymployed Don Alvera de Botelio with 80 sayle gallyes and frigotts of warr, with a competent nomber of soldiers, to that designe," who overthrew the Achinese fleet, took all its vessels and ordnance and all its men but sixteen who returning to Acheh were at once slain for being messengers of such ill tidings. In the same year the English were Portugal's allies against Dutch shipping:—it was now that the Dutch told the Sultan of Jambi that the English "were a rude and ungoverned nation, given to drunkenness and abusing of women, quarrelling, fighting and such like."

This naval and diplomatic success barely gave Portugal a respite. Years ago Francisco d'Almeida had written to King Manoel, "Let it be known to your Majesty that if you are not strong in ships, little will avail you any fortress on land." Time was confirming the truth of this judgment. Naval supremacy in the Indian Ocean had passed now to the Dutch and the English, and the days of Portuguese empire were numbered. By 1635 the Dutch were intercepting all Portugal's trade in the straits of Malacca, even searching British ships for Portuguese goods, and by 1636 Malacca, the former magazine for the archipelago, was ruined, the Indian and spice trade being diverted to the free ports of Bantam, Jambi, Acheh and Macassar, and the China trade to Japan and Manila. In 1638 the Kandy chiefs defeated the Portuguese and in two years Trincomalee and Galle fell to the Dutch. In 1639 the Dutch and Acheh had besieged Malacca by land and sea "so that there cannot a boate escape them," and British bottoms were afraid to carry rice for the port's relief. At the end of 1640, just when Portugal threw off the Spanish yoke, Goa for the fifth year in succession was blockaded by a Dutch fleet, while Madrid and Lisbon were pre-occupied and the military and financial resources of the Portuguese were at too low an ebb to succour Malacca. Goa talked

of an offer of the Portuguese settlements of Asia to the king of England "provided hee bee pleased to protect them against the Dutch and graunt them liberty of conscience and freedome in matters of religion." In 1641 Malacca fell. In 1656 the Portuguese were driven from Ceylon and their chief fortresses in Coromandel and Malabar, while at the peace of 1663 out of Portugal's Malayan possessions only Timor-Dilly was left.

iv.

PORTUGUESE ADMINISTRATION AND TRADE.

The Captain of the Fortress of Malacca, or Governor as at times he was styled, was ordinarily a nobleman. For civil affairs he enjoyed the advice of a Council, composed of the Ouvidor or Chief Justice, a Viador or mayor, the Bishop or his deputy, and a Secretary of State. He was appointed by the King as a reward for services rendered. The appointment was generally for three years and carried an annual allowance of 600,000 reals or 2,500 cruzados, besides which, as we shall see, its holders made enormous profits. The Captain's suite comprised 40 Portuguese soldiers and pages, 24 black halberdiers with a drummer, a piper and an umbrella-carrier, under a Captain of the Guard appointed like the soldiers of the garrison by the King.

The Captain-General or commander-in-chief was generally a nobleman, appointed for three years by the Vice-Roy of India. In war he had supreme command by land and sea. Without Council or advice he administered criminal and civil justice over all the military at Malacca. He had in his service 40 soldiers and pages and received annual emoluments of 4,000 cruzados, which however did not represent his total income.

The Ouvidor or Chief Justice, holding his commission from the Vice-Roy of India, had civil jurisdiction in Malacca only, could pronounce judgment through his Secretary and issue to his Merinho or sheriff warrants of execution up to 200 crusados. In suits involving more than that sum appeals lay to the High College of Justice at Goa. In criminal cases the advice and confirmation of the Captain were necessary. The Ouvidor drew yearly 200,000 reals

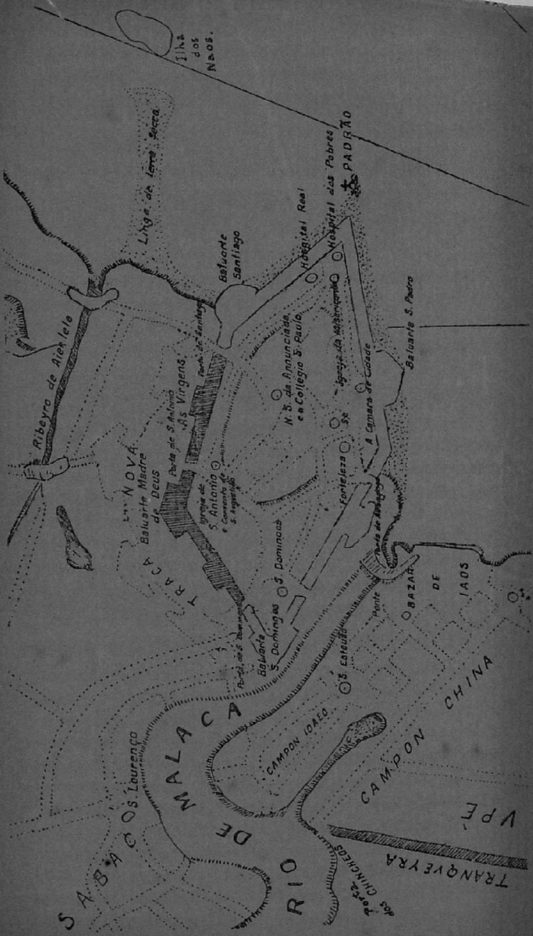

Fig. 14. Malacca after Emanuel Godinho de Eredia, 1613.

or 833⅓ cruzados but his takings from fines and for summonses were so great that the profits of his term of office amounted to more than 20,000 or 25,000 cruzados.

Equally high were the profits of the Feitor or officer who had charge of ammunition, victuals and ships of war.

Below these high officers were the lesser fry with their smaller perquisites.

At the end of his term of office, a Captain or Captain-General could be indicted at Goa for misconduct, but friends at the Viceroy's palace and bribery secured acquittal. Neither Captain nor Captain-General, neither Ouvidor or Feitor, were subject to any jurisdiction except that of the Vice-Roy, but the Feitor had to submit his accounts to the College of Accounts on penalty of lifelong imprisonment and confiscation of property.

Yearly on saints days there were elected out of the leading citizens seven Magistrates, who managed the affairs of the city after the Portuguese custom, allotting its income from the excise-duty on toddy and from one-third of the toll-duties for the maintenance of the fortifications and other public works. They had civil and criminal jurisdiction over citizens, who however could appeal to the Ouvidor. The Magistrates had two unpaid Almatacies or officers who were chosen monthly to control the sale of foodstuffs and the cleansing of the city.

There were three offices copied from the Malay administration.

A citizen was appointed Temenggong or bailiff for life, to control the Minangkabau and Malay vassals of Naning and Ringy. In 1634 Barretto de Resende wrote "Inland the land" (that is, Malacca) "borders on that of the Manamcabos, Moors of a land called Rindo" (? Lindu or Rembau), "vassals of the King of Pam" (namely Pahang), "and close by live five or six thousands of the same Manamcabo Moors, vassals of His Majesty" the King of Portugal, "under the government of a Portuguese married man of Malacca called Tamungam," or Temenggong, "an office conferred by the Viceroy. To him they owe obedience and should one of these Moors die without heirs, the said Tamungam inherits his property, and if there are heirs he makes an agreement with them

and receives ten per cent. upon such goods as he thinks fit. At the present day a Portuguese holds the office for life. These Moors cultivate extensive land by which they maintain themselves. They especially cultivate the betre. They purchase tin from the inhabitants of the interior and bring it to Malacca." In his report, dated 7 September 1641, to the Council of India on the past and present condition of Malacca Schouten tells us more: "For the control of the Minangkabau and Malay vassals of the villages Naning and Ringy, a burgher was appointed Tommagon or bailiff for life. He adjudicated in all their disputes, punished their misdeeds and reported murders to the Governor of the Castle. His pay was a percentage of the betel or *sireh* sent from Naning to the Malacca market, which amounted yearly to quite 1,000 cruzados. He had an agent at Naning who informed him of what was happening there. A Minangkabau boat coming down-river had to pay 1 cruzado and to give certain presents on its cargo of fruit, chicken and cattle.... Under him were one or two Orang Kaya."

All foreign Asiatics at Malacca were under the Bendahara, an official appointed by the King for life. Over them he had civil and criminal jurisdiction. His income was derived from a royal orchard near St. Thomas' Church, from presents given him by all boats bringing provisions and from fines.

To supervise foreign crafts, to receive envoys and take them to the Governor, and to assist the Bendahara there was a Shahbandar, whose emoluments were derived from a fixed percentage of provisions imported, that was given him as a legal due.

Malaccans and other dark inhabitants were under a Captain-Mor and several captains of their own race, who had duties only in time of war.

When d'Eredia wrote a century after its conq[illegible]
town had a Christian population of 7,400 not [illegible]
native vassals." There was the [illegible]
300 married Portuguese men, w[illegible]
gallantry of the Portuguese co[illegible]
time after time. Within t[illegible]
the Palaces of the Goverr[illegible]

Hall, five Churches and two Hospitals. Outside lay three Suburbs. In the north there was Upeh, also called Tranqueira after the palisade that protected its country-houses and groves from the attacks of the Saletes though not from more formidable invasion: its wooden-tiled roofed houses contained two parishes, one peopled by Chulias from Coromandel, the other by Chinese. South of the river lay the palm-thatched suburb of Bandar Hilir, while along its banks ran Sabak, a suburb consisting of huts built over the river, the homes of fishermen and dealers in timber and charcoal. At the mouth of the river was the Bazaar of the Javanese, who in spite of periodic wars with Malacca could not boycott so good a market for their rice and grain. Every year, says d'Eredia, there arrived at Malacca more than 200 boats from Java "loaded with common rice, *pulut* rice, every kind of grain, garlic, onions, butter, oils, honey, wax, Cassia fistula, a little cinnamon, tamarinds, coconuts, fowls, birds, saffron, *cacumbas*, every kind of medicinal herb, large quantities of meat, and pickled and dried fish"—besides earthenware, mats, baskets and weapons.

For the local land policy was bad. Large tracts of land were given out to Portuguese without any stipulation to ensure cultivation. "The married men of Malacca" wrote Barretto de Resende, "possess many leagues of land, extending on one side to Cape Rachado and on the other to the River Fermozo (Batu Pahat) and also many leagues in the interior, but all uninhabited with none to cultivate the land, though it is fertile and would yield much rice." Constant attacks from Johor made it unsafe for Catholics to have country estates but what land belonged to Moors was well cultivated and it would have saved the port from famine during its many sieges, had its administrators encouraged Malays to cultivate the hinterland, ensuring their neutrality or friendship in [illegible] by generous treatment in time of peace.

[illegible] policy affected Malacca's welfare in time of war, [illegible] it ruin financial and political. [illegible] was free from attacks by Acheh [illegible] of the port ruined its trade. [illegible], their command of the sea [illegible] of Sri Vijaya and Malay

Malacca and require all passing ships to call there. But the tyrannical exactions of some Captains drove ships to desert Malacca for the ports of Johor, Deli, Perak, Acheh and Banten and diverted the China trade to Patani. Pinto tells how estranged by the swindling of Portuguese officials Malay traders took their goods to Johor and her allies and tried to recover their losses at Malacca by pirating Portuguese vessels. The Portuguese then patrolled the straits and compelled all "Indian" ships to call at Malacca and pay toll, burning the ships and enslaving the crews of all who refused and resisted. As this drastic procedure drove more people than ever away from Malacca, it was dropped except apparently for local craft:—writing about 1638 Barretto de Resende records—"it is a law of Malacca that no boat coming from the region of the straits shall pass without putting in at Malacca and paying duties on all the cargo, the rate being ten per cent. and a further two per cent. to the town for the fortification and artillery."

In 1544 Goa resolved to reform a system that enriched officials and damaged the King of Portugal. On all wares from India a 6 per cent. toll had been levied but of wares borne to China a quarter had had to be delivered to the factory at 20 per cent. discount. Traders, therefore, had delivered unsalable goods and assessed them at a sixth above their value, while sometimes officials had forced traders to sell their wares at less than their value. Accordingly Goa sent a superintendent, Simao Botelho, to Malacca to cancel these regulations and to arrange that henceforth all imports, no matter what their country of origin, should be taxed 6 per cent. except foodstuffs which in view of Malacca's eternal want of supplies were to be admitted gratis:—two years later the import duty was raised to 8 per cent. on goods from Bengal and 10 per cent. on goods from China, so as to prevent Portuguese from leaving the King's service to trade in those parts. This reform the then Captain of the Fortress, Ruy Vaz Pereira, refused to sanction during his term of office, contending that the King had appointed him unconditionally for four years! However he died and the reform was introduced, whereupon in one year the revenue rose from 12 to 15,000 ducats to 27,500 ducats and at the end of the sixteenth century was 80,000 ducats.

Schouten gives the following summary of Portuguese customs duties and taxes in his report on Malacca in 1641. At the Alfendega or customs-house all imports other than food-stuffs were subject to a nine per cent. duty, six for the King and three for the city. On a bar of gold worth about 230 cruzados the duty was 4 cruzados. On exports 4½ per cent. duty was payable (3 for the King and 1½ for the city) but goods exported to Goa and Cochin, which had royal customs-houses, were free of duty. A tenth of all the fruits of the land were paid to the King, who leased out their collection for a sum varying from 1,000 to 1,200 cruzados a year, which sum was devoted to religious and charitable purposes. All holdings, urban and rural, except those that belonged to religious bodies, paid a cruzado or less a year. Orchards large and small paid three cruzados. Uncultivated lands and lands which formerly belonged to the Malay Sultans were sold or leased. All toddy-sellers paid a cruzado a month, which brought in 600 cruzados a year. There was a poll-tax of ½ a real a head for vessels with crews of not less than five Malays and of 3 cruzados for vessels carrying more. Javanese and other foreigners and Malaccans were exempt. The poll-tax brought in at least 2,000 cruzados a year. All vessels were subject to an anchorage-fee, which was paid by the King to the descendants of Vasco de Gama. All outgoing vessels had to pay for a permit. From their enemies, like the English, the Portuguese made more exorbitant demands. In 1636 they were demanding tolls on the English Company's own goods at Macao, Malacca, and Goa even though none of them were landed, and the tolls charged were sometimes 9, sometimes 20 per cent. of the value of the goods; at Goa they were 20 per cent.

But from every one the Portuguese Captains at Malacca wanted more than tolls and duties. Every ship had to give a huge present before it could get a pass, a custom honoured by observance, though so far from having the King's sanction it was forbidden on pain of excommunication. Well enough St. Francis Xavier wrote in 1549—" When you confess Captains, Factors, or any other officials of the King....take the greatest care to get complete information of the way in which they gain their living. You will ask them if they pay *partes* (? taxes), if they make monopolies, if they help

themselves with the King's money for their own business and the like details. Do not be satisfied with asking them in general if they are holding what is of others. They will answer you that they owe nothing to anybody, for they easily take no notice of such things, as they are now well established, and they are so little affected by the injustices involved. Really they are under obligation to restore much to many." One can understand why on the Saint's arrival at Malacca, the people went down on their knees and cried, "The holy father is here"!

The Portuguese government started to trade and tried to establish a monopoly of spices and pepper, in order to augment its inadequate revenue from taxation. But the spice monopoly was abandoned in 1565 owing to Javanese and Malay competition, while even before the arrival of the Dutch the pepper monopoly was contested by Acheh and ruined by private Portuguese traders who, as Antonio van Diemen wrote in 1612, "think no more of Portugal but sustain and enrich themselves with the advantages of India as if they were natives and had no other fatherland." Among these private traders there were many officials, competitors with their own government. Barretto de Resende refers to the "great abuses committed by the Captains of the Fortress who buy merchandise at a price much lower than the current price of the country and also compel traders to accept their money: a thing which is very usual in all the towns and fortresses of the Portuguese State; and which causes as much misery as the Dutch themselves. To such an extent is the abuse carried that even when Christians come to these ports of Malacca to trade in certain kinds of merchandise the captain seizes [illegible] wares, assessing them at a price below their real value an[illegible]g much abuse: and for this reason some merchants bri[illegible]eir wares to the customs house at night time in order to p[illegible]ty to the customs official in secret. All this is the cause o[illegible] great losses to Malacca." Free on King's ships that carried envoys everywhere or on other ships without paying freight, these [illegible]ptains sent their own goods to Macao, Goa, Bengal, Negapatam [illegible] Manila. And though it was forbidden by the King's re[illegible], all cloves, nutmegs, mace, sandal-wood, pepper, tin and [illegible]fitable wares imported by Malays Bugis and

Javanese could be sold only to the Captain's merchants, who advanced 20 or 30 per cent. on them without risk. For six months in the year Perak tin went to the government and for six months to the Captain, but in practice the Captains gave a far smaller proportion of the tin to the state, this transaction, until the Dutch got most of the trade, yielding about 10,000 cruzados in a Captain's term of office. During that term a Captain would make from 50 to 80,000 cruzados until Dutch competition reduced it to 10,000 cruzados or less. It was Malayan tin that attracted Indian vessels to Malacca and led to the decay of Acheh both in Portuguese and Dutch times. To guard a source of revenue so important, the Portuguese built a fort on the Perak river.

Portuguese trade was borne on royal ships leased for a term of years and left to the lessee to repair! No wonder that Jan Huygen van Linschoten, when visiting Goa (1583–1589) thought it a miracle that Portuguese ships did not all perish through want of care in stowage and navigation.

Not only was there inefficiency but there was that spirit of insubordination which dared to show itself even under the strong rule of d'Albuquerque. In 1596, for example, the Vice-Roy sent a fleet to Sunda and Java to persuade the natives not to receive Benjamin Wood. In spite of instructions to conciliate Asiatics, the captain-major Lourenco de Brito robbed native craft of provisions without paying for them and let his captains capture two Chinese junks! Before the end there was disloyalty as well as insubordination. In 1595 Cornelis de Houtman found in Java many Portuguese (one of them Pedro d'Attaide from Malacca) who welcomed and banqueted the Dutch, giving information as to the pepper trade " and of the novelty that was [illegible] in the loading of their ships! "

Corruption and decadence aside, Portugal fr[illegible]e first suffered two disadvantages that were inevitable. The fi[illegible]t disadvantage was the smallness of her own population, which at the zenith of her power in the sixteenth century did not excee[illegible] million and a half; that smallness had made the Vice-Roy d[illegible]ida content to aspire to no more than naval supremacy a[illegible]uquerque content with a chain of small fortified trading [illegible]pported

by fleets. The other disadvantage was Portugal's legacy of hatred against Islam, inherited from the crusades and the struggle for the Iberian peninsula, a hatred which prompted Couto's fierce vulgarism—"the Moors whose snouts we smashed every time they deserved it." Turned back from Europe, Islam flourished in the East and its rising power in the Malay archipelago disturbed Malacca's peace and marred her trade.

* * * *

As the headquarters of Portugal's power in the Malayan region Malacca boasted of a remarkable commerce until in the end it was destroyed temporarily by the Dutch blockade. About 1530 Urdaneta found Malacca with her 500 Portuguese trading in cotton stuffs from Pulicat and Bengal; in foodstuffs, precious stones and musk from Pegu; in tin from Perak and other parts of the Peninsula, and in sandal-wood from Timor. There were days, he says, when not less than seven quintals of gold were imported from Minangkabau, mostly for the Tamil market:—a quintal was $1\frac{1}{8}$ Dutch lbs. Gold came also from Siam and Patani. From Borneo was sent camphor and from China porcelain, though Portuguese methods had diminished the China trade at Malacca.

In 1641 Schouten gives a long list of imports and exports in Portuguese times. From the Malay Peninsula and the east coast ports of Sumatra came pepper, tin, gold, aguila-wood, bezoar stones, resin, ivory, rhinoceros horns, birds' nests, rice and rattans, the importers carrying home cloths from Coromandel, Bengal and Surat, Chinese wares, and Spanish reals. From Borneo, Java, Bima, Macassar and other islands to the east were brought camphor, bezoars, Javanese cloths, slaves from Borneo and Macassar, wax, oil, sandal-wood, tortoise-shell and rice. From Siam and Cambodia the Portuguese fetched benzoin, gum-lac, gold and rice, selling cloth in exchange. From Manila they brought white and brown sugar, tortoiseshell and gold, obtained in return for cloths and slaves. Macao imported gold, silk stuffs, white and brown sugar, iron-ware, gold-thread, quicksilver, Chinese tin, pearls and porcelain, all these in exchange for pepper, ivory, rhinoceros horns, sandal-wood, incense, red coral, amber, slaves, camphor, birds' nests and other miscellanies. From Goa and Cochin the Portuguese brought

Indian cloths, Arabian incense, amber, red coral, ivory, rhinoceros horns, white cummin, Portuguese wine, slaves (for Manila), wheat, rice and Spanish reals, exporting to those two places in return Chinese wares, gold, tortoiseshell, sandal and sappan woods, copper, tin, benzoin, gum-lac, resin, rattans, sugar, diamonds, bezoars, quicksilver, etc. To Negapatam and St. Thomé were sent gold, sandalwood, pepper, horns, tin and Chinese wares, in return for cloth, leather, rice and other foodstuffs. Bengal took tin, pepper, cloves, sandal and sappan wood, pearls, silks and porcelain, in exchange for cloths, fishnets, resin, wheat, rice, butter, sugar, oil and slaves. Trade with Pegu had been stopped by its civil wars for some years.

Writing just before 1638 Barretto de Resende gives a similar recital, adverting to the abuses of the Portuguese Captains and the flourishing Dutch trade at Jambi and Indragiri and Perak. "All the southern tribes were wont to come to Malacca to buy in exchange for other merchandise so that the commerce was very extensive and the profits no less; but now it is almost entirely extinct, for never or rarely do any natives come to Malacca to seek anything: having all they require from the Dutch. Nevertheless voyages are still undertaken from Malacca to many parts, China, Manila and Cochin-China being the principal points of destination and the less important voyages being to Patane.... The Straits of Singapore is the place where the Dutch lie in wait for the Portuguese ships coming from China, Manila, Macassar and all the Malucco Archipelago. It has many channels so narrow that in places the branches of the trees on shore touch the ships, and the currents are very strong.... Fish is bought by the merchants of the ships from the Saletes or inhabitants of the Straits who live in *baloons* (boats) with their families. They catch fish by spearing them in the water and then sell them. These Saletes are a very wicked people, and especially so to the Portuguese. They are evil-hearted and treacherous, and the best spies the Dutch possess. Wherever of the many places in this neighbourhood our ships may be, they immediately inform the Dutch and lead them there; so that most of our losses are due to them. This is because the Dutch give a great share of all thus seized," and because these Proto-Malays were subjects of Portugal's enemy, Johor.

V

ENGLISH PIONEERS.

At the edge of European civilisation England was late to develope commercial enterprise nor did her government subsidize exploration, and in spite of a curiosity fired by the New Learning and a gust of patriotism fanned by the breach with Rome, the English were averse before the war with Spain, to trespassing on routes and territories claimed by the Iberian kingdoms. However the population of England was increasing and poor and wanted a market for its woollen stuffs. As early as 1511 (the year d'Albuquerque took Malacca) her vessels voyaged to the fair havens of Sicily, Crete and Scio, taking kerseys and fetching cargoes of silk, wines, oils, raw cotton and spices. But the discovery of the Cape route lessened this trade that hitherto had come from the Persian gulf by caravan to Aleppo and from the Red Sea by desert ways to Cairo and Alexandria: acts of God at sea took less toll of human profits than Bedouin robbers and extortionate Turkish pashas. Was there not some shorter way to the markets of Cathay, some route other than round the Cape that English discovery might make England's own? It was to be more than three hundred years before the North-East passage to Asia was accomplished, and neither it nor the North-West passage were to serve the commerce of the world.

But European politics and English trade development soon overcame scrupulous avoidance of Spanish seas. Already the hero of raids on the Spanish West Indies, in 1577 Francis Drake set forth in quest of booty, the North-West passage, the Moluccas and a supposed adjacent southern continent; in 1580 he reached the Moluccas from the Pacific and returned to England round the Cape, this circumnavigation of the globe being due immediately to fear lest the galleons of Spain might be awaiting in Magellan's Strait the raider of the coasts of Chile and Peru. Aleppo, Baghdad, Basrah, Hormuz, Goa, Agra, Fatehpu-Sikri, Bengal, Pegu, Chieng-Mai, the itinerary of Ralph Fitch in the eight years after 1583 would leave even a modern tourist breathless! And in January 1588 from Pegu Fitch arrived at Malacca, there to remain seven weeks, its first English visitor, studying local commerce. In the

same year Thomas Cavendish reached the Philippines and threaded the Macassar Straits and so home past Java and the Cape, arriving at Plymouth a few days after the defeat of the Armada had extinguished fear of Spain. In 1589 London merchants craved encouragement for trade with the East by way of the Cape "as well for the anoyinge of the Spainards and Portingalls (nowe our enemyes) as also for the ventinge of oure comodities (which, since the beginning of thes late troubles, ys muche decayed), but especially our trade of clotheinge." On 10 April 1591 from Plymouth departed three tall ships, of which none but the *Royal Merchant* ever returned, and she sent back from the Cape with 50 men sick of "the skurvie." A few days after doubling the Cape, the admiral's ship, the *Penelope,* foundered in a storm. Only the *Edward Bonaventure,* commanded by Edward Lancaster, reached in June 1592 the island of Pinang (then part of Kedah), where he "came to an anker in a very good harborough betweene three islands; at which time our men were very sicke and many fallen.... Here we continued untill the end of August. Our refreshing in the place was very smal, onely of oisters growing on rocks, great wilks and some few fish which we tooke with our hookes. Here we landed our sicke men.... The winter passed and hauing watered our ship and fitted her to goe to sea, wee had left us but 33 men and one boy, of which not past 22 were found for laboure and helpe, and of them not past a third part sailers: thence we made saile to seek some place of refreshing and went over to the mains of Malacca," namely Kedah...."About two of the clocke in the afternoone, we espied a canoa which came neere unto vs, but would not come aboord us, hauing in it some sixteen naked Indians, with whom neuertheles, going afterward on land, we had friendly conference, and promise of victuals. The next day, in the morning, we espied three ships, being all of burthen 60 or 70 tunnes, one of which we made to strike with our very boate; and understanding that they were of the towne of Martabam, which is the chiefe hauen towne for the great citie of Pegu, and the goods belonging to certaine Portugal Jesuites, and a biscuit baker a Portugal, we tooke that ship and did not force the other two, because they were laden for marchants of Pegu, but hauing this one at our command, we came together to an anker. The

night following all of the men, except twelue, which we tooke in our ship, being most of them borne in Pegu, fled away in their boate, leauing their ship and goods with us. The next day we weighed our anker and went to the leeward of an iland hard by, and tooke in her lading being pepper, which shee and the other two had laden, at Pera, which is a place on the maine 30 leagues to the south. Beside the aforesaid three ships, we tooke another ship of Pegu laden with pepper, and perceiuing her to be laden with marchants' goods of Pegu onely, we dismissed her without touching any thing.

"Thus hauing staied here 10 daies and discharged her goods into the *Edward*, which was about the beginning of September, our sicke men being somewhat refreshed and lustie, with such relief as we had found in this ship, we weighed anker, determining to runne into the streights of Malacca, to the ilands called Pulo Sambilan, which are some fiue and fortie leagues northward of the citie of Malacca, to which ilands the Portugals must needs come from Goa or S. Thome, for the Malucos, China, and Japan. And when wee were there arriued, we lay too and agayne for such shipping as should come that way. Thus hauing spent some fiue dayes, upon Sunday we espied a saile which was a Portugall ship that came from Negapatan, a towne on the maine of India, ouer-against the north-east part of the Ile of Zeilan; and that night we tooke her, being of 250 tunnes; she was laden with rice for Malacca. Captaine Lancaster commanded their captaine and master aboord our shippe, and sent Edmund Barker, his lieutenant, and seuen more to keep this prize, who, being aboord the same, came to an anker in thirtie fadomes water; for in the chanell three or foure leagues from the shore you shall finde good ankorage. Being thus at an anker and keeping out a light for the *Edward*, another Portugall ship of Sant Thome of foure hundred tunnes, came and ankered hard by us. The *Edward* being put to seeward for lacke of helpe of men to handle her sailes, was not able the next morning to fetch her vp, until we, which were in the prize, with our boate went to helpe to man our shippe. Then comming aboord we went toward the shippe of Sant Thome, but our shippe was so foule that shee escaped us. After we had taken out of our

Portugall prize what we thought good, we turned her and all her men away except a pilot and foure Moores. We continued here vntil the sixt of October, at which time we met with the ship of the captaine of Malacca, of seuen hundred tunnes, which came from Goa; we shot at her many shot, and at last shooting her maine-yard through, she came to an anker and yielded. We commanded her captain, master, pilot, and purser, to come on boord vs. But the captain accompanied with one soldier onely came, and after certaine conference with him, he made excuse to fetch the master and purser, which he sayd would not come vnless he went for them; but being gotten from vs in the edge of the euening, he with all the people, which were to the number of about three hundred men, women, and children, gote ashore with two great boates, and quite abandoned the ship. At our comming aboord we found in her sixteene pieces of brasse, and three hundred buts of Canarie wine and Nipar wine, which is made of the palme trees, and rasin wine, which is also very strong; as also all kind of haberdasher wares, as hats, red caps knit of Spanish wooll, worsted stockings knit, shooes, veluets, taffataes, chamlers, and silkes, abundance of suckets, rice, Venice glasses, certaine papers full of false and counterfeit stones, which an Italian brought from Venice to deceiue the rude Indians with all, abundance of playing cardes, two or three packs of French paper. Whatsoever became of the treasure which usually is brought in roials of plate in this gallion, we could not find it. After that the mariners had disordredly pilled this rich shippe, the captaine, because they would not follow his commandment to vnlade those excellent wines into the *Edward*, abandoned her and let her driue at sea, taking out of her the choisest things that she had. And doubting the forces of Malacca, we departed thence to a baie, in the kingdome of Junsalaom, which is between Malacca and Pegu, eight degrees to the northward, to seeke for pitch to trimme our ship." So the narrative of Edmund Barker, Lieutenant. Henry May's account is terse and interested mainly in the captures: "We took a shippe of the kingdome of Pegu of some fourscore tunnes, with wooden ankers, and about fiftie men in her, with a pinnesse of some eighteene tunnes at her stearne, both laden with pepper. But their pinnesse stole from vs in a gust in the morning. Here we

might haue taken two shippes more of Pegu, laden likewise with pepper and rice. In this moneth also we tooke a great Portugall ship of six or seuen hundred tun, laden chiefly with victuals, chests of hats, pintados, and Calicut clothes. Besides this, we tooke another Portugall ship of some hundred tun, laden with victuals, rice, calicos, pintados, and other commodities. These ships were bound for Malaca with victuals: for those of Goa, of S. Thomas, and of other places in the Indies doe victuall it, because that victuals there are very scarce."

The *Edward Bonaventure* was wrecked on the way home and for all the tigerish courage of her crew the end was only loss of life and loss of capital.

In 1596 Sir Robert Dudley, son of the favourite of Queen Elizabeth, promoted a voyage to China by way of Magellan's Strait and the Philippines. Three vessels the *Bear*, the *Bear's Whelp* and the *Benjamin* were employed under the command of Benjamin Wood. The largest was of 200 or 300 tons, while the other two were much smaller. One of the smaller, probably the *Benjamin*, was lost off the Cape. The remaining two reached first India and then Ceylon, where they captured and plundered two Portuguese merchantmen from Goa. Then in search of further booty they reached the Malacca Straits in January 1598 and after an indecisive skirmish with a Portuguese fleet that lasted eight days retired to "Old Kedah" to refit. One of his two ships Wood now burnt as he had only enough men left to work one vessel. The *Bear* resumed her course to be lost off Martaban or, according to another account, to be wrecked on the island of Buting (? Bunting) near Kedah. Of the "miserable disastrous success" of the expedition only one member, a Frenchman, reached Europe to tell the tale.

On 31 December 1600 the East India Company got a charter from Queen Elizabeth. In the next year the first of its expeditions sailed under Sir James Lancaster with letters and presents from the Virgin Queen unto her loving brothers, lords of the pepper trade, the kings of Acheh and Bantam, whose names were left blank to be filled in locally: it brought home cargoes of pepper and established a factory at Bantam in Jaya. A second expedition

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in 1605 under Henry Middleton brought back spices from the Moluccas and news that the Dutch were ousting the Portuguese and trying for a monopoly of the spice trade, based upon treaties with the native chiefs. In what was later to be British India, source of those cottons so much more valuable for Eastern barter than woollen kerseys or European coin, there also the Dutch forestalled their rivals so that the English could get no footing at Pulicat, the Coromandel port that gives its name to a cotton *sarong* favoured in Malaya to this day, while at Masulipatam (as at far Patani and Ayuthia in Siam) they had to establish offices alongside factories already opened by their competitors. Accordingly in 1611 the London merchants sought to be admitted to freedom of trade in lands that flowed with spices worth 7s. a pound, but for that admission Holland required them to share the cost of 22 forts, 4,000 troops and 30 great ships which her United East India Company had provided against Spaniards and Portuguese. The English had profited by this Dutch armament without paying a stiver; and though in 1615 two of the Company's ships alone paid £14,000 into England's customs revenue (which Elizabeth had farmed for £12,000 a year), negotiations failed and with them English aims in the Malayan Archipelago. The Great Mogul was strong enough to refuse monopolies; the insignificant chiefs in the Moluccas would grant them, ignorant of the consequences and eager to do anything to keep out the Portuguese. It was mere prevarication for the English to invoke equity and the law of nations in support of the freedom of the seas; Iberian galleons had long since extinguished that freedom, and why should not Hollanders get some return on their great outlay to protect trade and the poor Moluccan? But London merchants were cautious and King James would not break with Spain. A treaty contracted in 1619 did at last give the English the sanctuary of Dutch forts and a share of the Eastern trade, provided the English Company maintained ten ships to fight the Don and paid part of the upkeep of forts, but the English complained that the cost of that upkeep was deliberately inflated and that their trade was still thwarted. English factories were opened for a few struggling years in Borneo at Sukadana (1611–23), Sambas (1611–4) at Banjarmasin (1614–8), in Sumatra at Indragiri. At Acheh, at Bantam, at Batavia the

Dutch were alongside them and in the Bandas there was open war with the great Jan Pieterszoon Coen, the man who, King James declared in 1622, well deserved to be hanged:—" your people over there represent everywhere your Prince of Orange as a great King and Lord, and hold me up as a little kinglet, as if I stood under him, thus misleading the barbarian kings." In January 1623 unable to provide the ten ships or pay the heavy fort charges, the English Company decided to cut its losses and withdraw its factories from all Dutch settlements: it would abandon Malayan spices for the calicoes of India, a trade less prized and less resented by the Hollanders. Before this withdrawal had been effected, there was the Amboyna "massacre" of English traders accused of intriguing to capture the Dutch fort there. Patani in Siamese Malaya (1612–23), Jambi (1615–81) in Sumatra, Japara (1618–48) the port of Java's empire of Mataram, Macassar (1613–67) in the Celebes, all England's scattered factories in the Malay Archipelago were gradually abandoned.

The history of the Patani factory, to take one example, is a story of disappointment and failure. The Company's seventh voyage had been that of the *Globe,* which left Gravesend in 1611 (New Style) carrying as her commander Captain Hippon and as merchants two Dutchmen Lucas Janssen alias Antheunis and Pieter Willemsz van Ebling alias Floris, owner of three early Malay MSS. now at Cambridge and author of a history of the *Globe's* voyage. After picking up a cargo of cloth at Masulipatam thanks to the experience of the two Dutchmen in their former Dutch employ, the *Globe* called at Bantam to find Dutch competition obstructive and then made the first English voyage down the Straits of Malacca past Singapore and so to Patani, where it was hoped to found a flourishing entrepôt for the silk trade with China and Japan. The reasons for this hope are clearly set forth by Mr. W. H. Moreland, editor of the most recent edition of Peter Floris. "No Japanese vessels could enter Chinese ports; a single Portuguese ship came annually to Japan from Macao carrying Canton silk, and a limited number of junks brought the product of Nanking to Nagasaki; the rest of the trade was conducted on neutral territory, Formosa, the Philippines and elsewhere. Both Dutch and English hoped to

obtain a share of this lucrative trade in the Gulf of Siam; and the early letters from the English factory at Hirado insisted on the need for bringing silk thence." But not only did Siam send silk to Japan; the Dutch decoyed traders to their factory at Singgora and contrived to buy most of the Nanking silk. The Queen of Patani wanted high customs dues and her chiefs exorbitant presents and the Queen preferred to lend money to Dutch and English at interest rather than to buy cloth. Trading ran many risks. Floris saw Patani burnt down by the chiefs' Javanese slaves, and he himself suffered "the strangest robberye" in his hired house of reeds, "being all of us in the house above 15 persons sleeping, Mr. Lucas and I in a bedde aparte lyinge close together, having a great black dogge lying under my cabine, my truncke standing at my feete, close to the boording, being no greater space between the bedde and coffer butt that onely the lidde might shut and open," yet notwithstanding all this and a lamp burning thieves forced the padlock of the chest and stole "283 R8 and dyvers other prety things as also apparell linen and my rapier, which had att leaste 25 R8 in silver uppon it." Floris soon lost hope of the silk trade and looked to skins as the main export to the Far East. The Patani pepper was fair to the eye but mostly husks. Imports were often unsatisfactory, the salampouries second-hand and spoilt by the washermen, the beathillies short in length, the yarn coloured with a cheap red dye that turned black on the voyage; and it was useless to import cloths that had not novel patterns. Support from home was intermittent. One factor entreated Their Worships to remember him with books, paper, and ink: for want of supplies his books were kept on China paper, which the cockroaches ate! In 1616 only gum benjamin could be bought as there was too little cash in the factory for the purchase of silks. In the following year there was neither money nor goods, not so much as would buy victuals; yet not even death saved one young factor, Mr. Chancery, from posthumous blame for his odious presumption in planning to quit his post without authority. At times the poor merchants had to endure the turbulence, private trading and drunkenness of visitors like Captain Edmund Marlowe, who scorned and hectored them and let his men assault them with sword and pike "in the middle of Their Worships' yard."

After Cromwell's victory over the Netherlands in 1654 there was a renewed attempt at English trade with the Peninsula, partly private and in partnership with Moors from India. Under the date 31 January 1660 the records of the Dutch Company contain a letter to Batavia from Matthew Andrews, President of Surat, England's chief factory on the west coast of India. "Four years ago in the time of free trade I despatched my ship the *Nugdy* from Surat to Kedah laden with various articles of local manufacture. For lack of English (agents) I instructed that the cargo should be disposed of to two of my Moor servants at Kedah, Hans Mea and Mahomet Sayet. My goods were sold in Kedah, and the proceeds in tin, pepper and aguila-wood were shipped on the *Nugdy*. On the Kedah bar the *Nugdy* encountered the yacht *Batavia*, whose captain Jacob Pits forced the crew to go on board his yacht, declared the cargo belonged to a Moor, seized 450 reals in cash and took 24½ *bahar* of tin, paying for it only 857½ reals, though in Surat it would have fetched 100 reals a *bahar*. My loss, therefore, was 1,593½ reals on the tin and 450 in cash or a total of 2,043½ reals of eight. For two years I have written to Heer Ryklof van Goens for satisfaction but have got no reply."

Under 22 January 1661 the same records note how on the departure of the Dutch patrol yacht, the *Cabo Jasques*, there dropped down the Kedah River with 400 *bahar* of tin and other cargo the *St. George* a famous ship owned by (Sir) Edward Winter of Masulipatam. She had been seized from Mir Jumlah, Nawab of Golconda and conqueror of the Carnatic. This chief not only possessed 4,000 houses, 300 elephants, 4 or 500 camels and 10,000 oxen for the transport of his merchandise in Golconda, Bizapur and the territory of the Great Mogul: he also owned ten vessels which traded to Pegu, Tenasserim, Acheh, Arakan, Persia, Bengal, Moka, Perak, the Maldives and Macassar. In the Dutch he "well perceived abundance of pride and infidelitie," because the Governor-General at Batavia omitted to reply to a letter from him, and because they interfered with his trade to Acheh and Kedah and Macassar. He vowed to disappoint them of their "aime to get the whole trade of India into their hands only." With the English, Mir Jumlah, was on good terms, giving the Company "a circuite

belonging to the toune of Madraspatam," that is Madras. The unauthorized seizure of his ship by one of the Company's servants was therefore a political blunder and the Surat President was credited with a design to send to Kedah to capture the *St. George* and restore her to the Nawab. The ship, however, was destined never to return to Indian waters. On leaving Kedah she "met with a firce storme about the Andaman Islands or Niccaber (wee know not well whether) wherewith shee was prest soe much that she spent all her standing masts, but made a shift with some jury ones to get into Malacca; where wee hear by Mr. Cooper, her pilott, she is now laid up and utterly unfitt to proceede further, unless there bee more bestowed on her, in fitting her out then her value." After the *St. George* had made the Dindings, her captain sailed in the *Kleen Amsterdam* to Malacca, where on the stipulation that neither he nor the Moors would hinder the Dutch trade at Coromandel and that he would sell half his cargo of tin to the Dutch at their usual low price, he was given old sails, a Dutch helmsman, a barrel of meat and a barrel of bacon to enable him to get his ship down to Malacca. Arrived there, Winter would not sell his tin even at $48 a *bahar* and left the port, complaining that the Dutch blockade of Acheh had prevented him from selling his cloth there at a great profit and had forced him to sail to Kedah where he long lay to the great loss of his owners. The *St. George* was very leaky and lay beached on the mud of Red Island with her crew paid off. Her cargo of tin and some pepper mostly belonged to Edward Winter who was "believed to avoid bringing any part of his estate from Kedah or Pegu lest the Company should seize it for his debt to it." His brother Francis was said to be owed 1,500 *bahar* of tin by the Sultan of Kedah, who had seized certain ships, when on their way from India to Malacca they had visited Kedah for repairs.

In October 1661 Batavia instructed that English visits to Kedah were not to be hindered but the Dutch must trade with them warily: they were importing cloth, iron and steel. In 1662 we first hear of Mr. Lock, an English private trader, who trafficked in cloth, tin, Patani gold and elephants between Kedah and Coromandel. Some of his ships he built in Kedah; he had a Tamil

attorney and he had transactions with the Sultan who was an unsatisfactory client. Once the English at Acheh asked the Queen of that Sumatran state for a mandate to the Perak chiefs to deliver to Mr. Lock tin due to him; and the Queen, though refusing at first owing to her treaty with the Dutch and the representations of their Resident at her capital, was later moved to consent. Once Lock claimed compensation for tin taken by the crew of the Dutch patrol the *Exter* when they atrociously murdered the whole crew of a Moorish ship and for that crime were sentenced by the Dutch Governor to torture and death. Once Oxenden, President at Surat, curtly declined to accede to a Dutch request to send a sharp letter to Lock, explaining that Lock was not a servant of the Company but a free trader with whose business he could not interfere. In February 1665 Lock was sailing for Coromandel in two yachts, one on his own account and one on the Sultan's, taking 20 elephants, a trade the Dutch had stopped for two years: he had to call at Acheh for provender and four of his elephants died on the voyage. From this voyage Lock returned just in time to avoid capture when in November war between Holland and England broke out again. In 1671 George Foxcroft, Governor of Madras, complained to Batavia that after peace between England and Holland had been declared, the commanders of the yacht *Gorcum* and the galoot *Hammenhiel* had seized outside the Kedah bar a small English ship from Coromandel with a cargo of gold, tin and elephants; and as this constituted an act of war, the Dutch agreed to pay compensation for ship and cargo, which were worth $11,314\frac{3}{4}$ *pagodas*. In 1670 instructions to the commanders of ships employed in the Kedah blockade had warned them not to keep out the English but bearing themselves with all discretion to endeavour to discover and note if they carried any Moorish goods. According to the Dutch, in 1676 Moors, Portuguese and some English were trading vigorously from Porto Novo and Cunelar to Malacca, Kedah, Siam and Johor.

For even Holland's old ally, Johor, was from time to time visited by English ships. Having failed to get Acheh's licence to trade in Perak and having slipped away from Malacca (in spite of its Governor's courtesy) for fear of a demand for customs

duty on his cargo, on 27 July 1647 Wylde arrived at Johor in the *Supply* with a request from the Company "to have free trade in all the king's parts and dominions, not paying customes; which he and his orankayes at first seemed to admire my demands were so large on so small acquaintance. His answere was for this yeare our ship off goods was custome free, but in the future not to be expected." At first the king offered to let Wylde build warehouses but changed his mind, ostensibly from fear of friction with the Dutch who had been refused that privilege, but actually in Wylde's opinion owing to the wiles of Gujerati skippers then enjoying free trade in Johor. The Sultan would allow the English Company to trade if it paid 5 per cent. duty on all goods brought there for sale, export duty on tin and pepper and "lungargow or anchoridge" on every ship. On 2 July 1661 an English merchant from Surat passed Malacca on his way to Johor, whereupon the Dutch Governor sent a letter to the Sultan, asking him to refuse to trade with her, and despatched a sergeant Hendrik Jansz and a Portuguese Manuel Damotta on the pretext of looking for runaway slaves at Johor but really to spy and report. The merchant was Joseph Heynmers, who had lived in Holland and spoke Dutch, a choleric overbearing man, gruff and stern, with whom Malays were afraid to trade. He and the captain of his ship, the *Vine*, fed at different tables. He had paid 600 rix-dollars for toll or port dues, given a present of 300 and rented a house for six months, but the king had refused him permission to build a large lodge. About this time the English at Acheh also asked leave to build a house and to trade at Johor or its fief Bengkalis the Sumatran port. And there was a Mr. Lock captured at Johor with his ship in 1673, when Jambi sacked Johor's capital, Batu Sawar, who when he wished to complain to the Sultan of Jambi was strangled by the Malay commander and reported to have hanged himself. Was it poor Mr. Lock, the free trader of Kedah?

The Dutch records of 1681 note that to the damage of their own Company the English drove a large private trade, and perhaps this explains why the small factory opened at Kedah in 1669 was closed as a failure in 1675. The same records also complain

of the great loss this English private trade caused the Dutch Company " especially as the English are esteemed for their natural character and their large purchases."

In 1683 the Dutch induced the Sultan of Jakatra to expel the English even from Bantam and a connection with Java that had lasted eighty years came to an end. Thereafter the English Company chose for its headquarters in the Malayan region Bengkulen on the south-west coast of Sumatra, with too sanguine a faith in the climate, in the profits of pepper estates worked by Malay labour and in the energy and integrity of officials allowed private trade

When for the first time after closing its small Kedah agency in 1675 the English Company turned again to the Malay Peninsula, its object was as much the establishment of a naval base as renewal of Malayan trade.

VI

DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

i.

1602—1641.

In 1602 the Netherlands, compelling the amalgamation of the several small companies that had started to trade in the Orient, gave a monopoly of Eastern trade to the famous joint-stock United East India Company, with authority to make settlements and conclude treaties in the name of the Dutch Government. At first it was under a Board of Directors, until in 1610 this Board was replaced by a Governor-General, assisted by a Council of India. The Governor-General lived mostly at the Moluccas until in 1619 the great Jan Pieterszoon Coen conquered Jakatra fixed Batavia as the seat of government, and by that act deprived Malacca of the chance of ever again becoming the centre of European commerce after its capture from the Portuguese.

Very different from the coming of the Portuguese was the advent of the Dutch; tolerant of Islam and indifferent to all but commerce, they were efficient and energetic and comparatively loyal to their salt.

In 1602, a servant of the Dutch Company, Jacob van Heemskerck, having visited Kedah anchored off Johor, was welcomed as an ally against the hated Portuguese and started the Dutch connection with the Malay Peninsula that was to last until 1824. As early as 1587 Drake's capture off the Azores of a homeward-bound Portuguese carrack with a cargo worth £108,000 had taught England the wealth of the East Indies and that carracks were "no such bugs but that they might be taken." And now on 25 February 1603 van Heemskerck in retaliation for the murder of seventeen Dutch sailors at Macao attacked one of these prizes, the *Santa Catharina*, lying at anchor in the Johor river, until her Captain Sebastiao Serrao had to fly the white flag: her cargo of curios, lacquer, silk and porcelain was sold at Amsterdam for more than 3½ million guilders, while even today the Dutch term the thinnest and finest China "carrack porcelain" after this vessel. The Dutch capture of this tall Portuguese ship made on Johor

a profound and lasting impression, and her capital, Batu Sawar, welcomed Jacob Buijsen, the first Dutch factor in the Malay Peninsula, while two Johor Malays were sent as envoys to Holland. Not that the presence of a lonely factor deterred Dom Andre Furtado de Mendoca, the Governor of Malacca, from besieging his ancient Malay ally and demanding that Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din should deliver up the Dutch "thieves" at Batu Sawar and confiscate their property. The Sultan by "the bad counsels of his younger brother Raja Benco" (inspirer and perhaps part author of the *Malay Annals*) replied that he would first lose his kingdom and appealed to the English who despatched two ships which raised the siege "and sent Furtado's armament to the devil, so that in all those parts they would, it is said, have given the English their property and their very souls if they could"; and yet until the founding of Penang in 1786 the English were never to have any factory in the Malay Peninsula except the small one in Kedah, and the one at Patani opened by Floris, a Dutch employee of the Company, in 1612 and closed in 1623. The Dutch, on the contrary, now in a few years ousted the Portuguese from Acheh, Johor, Patani, Bantam, Amboyna and the Moluccas and made treaties of trade and friendship with the native rulers.

Early in 1605 Admiral C. Sebastiannse captured off Patani the carrack *St. Anthony*, while off Pedra Blanca the *Wissingen* captured another carrack bound from Cochin-China to Malacca. The cargo of the *St. Anthony* contained 2,000 pikuls of white sugar, 4,500 pikuls of tin, 223 fardels of Chinese camphor, 90 fardels of agila-wood, 18 leaden boxes of musk-balls, 11 boxes of vermilion, 22 boxes of Chinese fans, 209 fardels of raw silk and 75 of bad yellow silk, 6,000 pieces of variegated porcelain, 10 casks of coarse and fine porcelain, some gilt couches and knick-knacks, one lot radix China, one lot benzoin, 150 baskets with prepared silk, velvet, damask, taffeta and fine silk, and some boxes of gold-wire.

In 1606 Admiral Matelief made a treaty with Johor, promising to help the Sultan capture Malacca from their common enemy, the Portuguese, in return for the right to trade with Johor free of duty and to the exclusion of all other Europeans. The Dutch refused to admit Johor's claim to the town of Malacca which had

been built by the Portuguese or to engage to take the offensive against Johor's enemies other than Portuguese and Spaniards; but the Sultan might people Malacca's suburb Kampong Kling and was to have all the guns captured (as soon as the Dutch could replace them) and half the loot; moreover if Acheh attacked Johor, the Dutch would help or at any rate try to avert hostilities. Neither party might make peace with the King of Spain without the consent of both. The siege of Malacca began, but in August hearing of the approach of a strong Portuguese fleet from Goa Matelief resolved to abandon it. Valentijn records that the Bendahara Tun Sri Lanang (author or patron of the author of the *Malay Annals*) told Matelief plainly that the Malays intended to leave the siege to the Dutch, upon which "Matelief growled not a little at the Bendahara." But more far reaching than he knew were Matelief's victories that same year over Portuguese galleons, wresting for Holland that command of the sea so vital to any European power in the East:—though for Johor Portugal ceased to be a menace only when the Dutch took Malacca in 1641. Matelief sailed away to China and Pahang, having given Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din plans and suggestions for the strengthening of his palm-leaf and wooden capital at Batu Sawar, which was defended by inferior earthwork and palisades 40 feet high; but it was the Sultan's habit to sleep till noon, when he rose and ate and "drank drunk" till he cared nothing about forts and feared no foe in shining armour. The mail-clad Portuguese did attack and though they did not land the Malays burnt their own town and fled; the Sultan drank more than ever and was ready to make terms with the enemy at his gate. Meanwhile on 23 December 1607 a Dutch fleet of nine ships and four pinnaces had left the Texel under Admiral Verhoeff who on "the two and twentieth of November came before Malacca, where they tooke a Portugall ship, and fired it, the goods being by the Inhabitants before carryed away. On the foure and twentieth, they sent to the King of Jor to acquaint him with their purpose to besiege and take the Towne and Castle of Malacca. On the six and twentieth, they set men on shoare in the little Iland of Saint Peter, where the next day the Portugals set on them and lost their Admiral with three Captaines and six prime Officers, besides many of the meaner. Of

the Hollanders seven were slaine and three taken. On the eight and twentieth, fifteene Frigats of Blackes Pirats adjoyned themselves to the Hollanders. But the King of Jor could afford no helpe, his Fleet being then abroad. Some Vessels being taken and their three men recovered by exchange of Prisoners, they departed on the nine and twentieth. The tenth of January they went to Jor, and the King with his Sonne and Brother with twelve Frigats came to the Fleet on the fourteenth. His name is Ratispont: he had on a white Cotton Wastcote to his knees with a fringe hanging to the feet, silken Sandals, a blacke Shash on his head, three Gold Chaines about his necke, with many Jewels annexed, two thicke gold Rings on his left arme and one on his right, sixe on his fingers, a Crisse very artificiall in sheath of solid Gold set with many Diamonds, Saphieres, Carbuncles (valued at fiftie thousand Florens) of meane stature, comely shape, moderate speech, whitish complexion, having with him thirtie Wives; his Frigat adorned gallantly with a Tent, borne up with foure golden Pillars. His seat is in New Jor."

Ratispont was not the king but Raja Bongsu, his younger brother and successor, described by Matelief as being in 1606 a man about thirty-five, almost white, discreet, forbearing, not choleric, far-seeing, a foe to the Portuguese, industrious in affairs; in short a man worthy to be king of Malacca and Johor, who would recognize any help rendered to him and was a staunch friend of the Dutch. He was the only one of the royal brothers who did not drink.

Verhoeff was escorted on an elephant to the Batu Sawar palace and entertained with feasting and farcical dances but he failed to get leave to erect a fort there against the Portuguese, the Sultan pretending that the Dutch like the Portuguese might molest Malay women. With amazing inconsequence of policy 'Ala'u'd-din the drunkard was less concerned with the presence of the Portuguese at Malacca and their attacks on Johor than with an eight-year old private quarrel with Patani, and signing himself king of Johor and Malacca he gave the Admiral a letter to the States General offering permission to build the fort if they would destroy Patani! Verhoeff left behind a head-merchant, two under-merchants, a

factor, a diamond-expert and three assistants; a staff that corroborates the Dutch project of 1611 to remove the head office of

Fig. 15. A gold mas *of Sultan 'Ala'u'd-din.*

their great Company to Johor, had the new office in Java proved a failure. For a while the *Red Lion* and the *Griffin* guarded Batu Sawar but on 15 February (1609) they had to leave Johor where the Dutch had invested 10,000 reals, for Patani where they had staked 63,000. Again the Sultan was swayed by palace politics. His eldest son had just married his cousin of Siak, a petty Sumatran state, and the Siak family favoured Portugal; so on 16 October 1610 Johor signed a treaty of peace with that country and relieved of the Portuguese menace went off on another domestic tangent, overrunning and burning the "Suburbes of Pahang" apparently over a broken marriage engagement! Johor's infirmity of purpose had left her capital unfortified, the Dutch disgusted and the Portuguese her weak and suspicious ally, while the treaty with Portugal had revived in Acheh, now rich from trade with Dutch and English, the memory of old sores and started her most famous warrior prince, Mahkota 'Alam, on his conquests for dynastic glory and the control of commerce in pepper and tin. In 1612 at the age of twenty-two tired of the fierce fights of cocks rams and elephants and the "stomackful" encounter of "Buffles," pastimes of his barbaric court, Mahkota 'Alam retook Aru which since the beginning of the century had been a fief of Johor. On 7 May 1613 his fleet surprised Batu Sawar so suddenly that the Dutch crew of the *Hope* had not time to go downstream and aboard their ship before the twenty-nine-day siege began. The victors carried back to Acheh the old Sultan and his family and over twenty Dutch prisoners. Floris records how on 8 November 1613 when his ship was passing the Johor estuary "divers Prawes

came aboord as hard by the straight, being of the Salettes under the King of Johor, which for the most part keep in their Prawes, with their Wives and Children and live on fishing. By these we understood that the king of Achem had sent Raja Bong Su, younger brother of the king of Johor, back again with great honour, attended with thirtie Prawes and two thousand Acheners to rebuild the Fort and Citie of Johor, having married him to his Sister, and that he should be set set up in the old King's place." The place and date of his death are unknown but certainly about this time 'Ala'u'd-din, the drunkard, drank of the cup which all men must drink. Johor must have promised to help Acheh in the war against the Portuguese, and Acheh restored and enlarged Batu Sawar and even helped Johor in her old feud with Pahang. Raja Bongsu, the new Sultan, who ruled Johor with the title of 'Abdu'llah Maayat Shah, had always been a friend of the Dutch and now secretly despatched an envoy to Bantam, whereupon on 25 August 1614 Adriaen van der Dussen came to Batu Sawar to reiterate Verhoeff's request for leave to build a fort for its protection. The Sultan refused and in August 1615 made peace with the Portuguese. Straightway Mahkota 'Alam sent a fleet to attack Batu Sawar with a force estimated by eye-witnesses Admiral Steven van der Haghen and John Millward at 300 sail and upwards of 30,000 men: John Millward describes twelve of the King's gallies as "very great, having twenty eight and thirtie oares of a side and all things fitted very orderly by a Portingall whom (when they were finished) he cast before an elephant and brake his bones. The Admiral galley had a Turret built in the stern, covered with plates of massive Gold, and curiously wrought." Batu Sawar was deserted and the Achinese razed it to the ground as in 1587 the Portuguese had razed Johor Lama. Sultan 'Abdu'llah fled to Bintan "and lived on the water like a fugitive." In July 1616 writing to King James of England Mahkota 'Alam described himself as king of Acheh and other parts of Sumatra with authority over Batu Sawar and all countries subject to Batu Sawar and in 1617 he added Pahang to his conquests. Because of the dread created by Achinese and Portuguese fleets in the Malacca straits, Johor junks now went as far afield as the Moluccas for spices, and Malays from Johor and Patani lived in thousands at Macassar (a port of call on the

way) as agents for the spice trade of Patani and Johor with the Chinese, who shunned Portuguese Malacca. In 1618 Sultan 'Abdu'llah removed to Lingga (an island destined eventually to be the last capital of the Johor empire); his income there was derived from trade with Malacca, the junks of Siam Patani Java and Macassar bringing rice and other cargoes, which were transhipped in small craft to Malacca; until in March 1623 the Achinese drove this attractive but tragic prince even from this retreat to die of a broken heart on Great Tambelan island.

The richest Malay State now was Jambi, whither Dutch, English, Portuguese, Malays and Siamese resorted for pepper. Jambi, Palembang, Indragiri, Kampar and Siak, old vassals as they were of Johor and allies against Acheh, were spared by Mahkota 'Alam only because he desired to avoid collision with the Hollanders. But in 1620, determined to get the trade of the Peninsula into his hands and eager to damage the Portuguese at Malacca, he conquered Perak, Pahang, Johor. The scions of the Malacca house were paying for the destruction of the Achinese fleet at Aru in 1591, for coquetting with the Portuguese and for damaging Achinese commerce. In 1620 Acheh also conquered Kedah, when Mahkota 'Alam wasted its pepper plantations so that he should have no rival to his own pepper trade. In 1629 he besieged Malacca but in vain. In 1632 the hated Portuguese found another enemy in the queen of Patani who proposed an alliance of Holland, Patani, Johor, Cambodia, Jambi and Indragiri against them; so rabid was this hate that it blinded Patani to more immediate causes for her decline, the exactions her chiefs made on the Chinese and the loss of her pepper trade brought about by Acheh. In 1635 Acheh took dire vengeance on Pahang for being friendly with the moribund Portuguese, with whom also the English mindful of the massacre of Amboyna in 1623 now contracted an alliance. The Dutch even grew afraid that Acheh would conquer Jambi, the market whose pepper after 1615 all went into their hands.

But the pride and covetousness of the Portuguese and of Acheh were soon to be extinguished. Whether it was due to an infection caught from the war-prisoners that starved in his streets or to

an orgy of toddy or to guzzling curry at one of those picnics where Acheh's kings and their guests sat for hours waist-deep in water and were served by swimming pages, or (as Antonio van Diemen believed) to poison administered at Portuguese instigation by Bugis women slaves, anyhow on 27 December 1636 "the Order came" to Mahkota 'Alam, Crown of the World, to leave behind him his Sombrieros of beaten Gold, his Tent of Silver, his harness and Armour of Gold, his Elephant with teeth of Gold, His Vessels for bathing of pure Gold. All these things became the portion of his successor, Iskandar Thani, a son of Sultan Ahmad of Pahang, who had been carried captive form that state in 1618 and whose line was never to recover the Pahang throne from their cousins, the Johor branch of the same Malacca royal house. The same year saw the appointment of a strong Dutch Governor-General, van Diemen. In 1637, from Pahang 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah of Johor, styling himself "king of Johor and Pahang" made a treaty with the Dutch against the Portuguese and promised to build a strong fort in Johor. From now onwards the Dutch controlled the shipping in the Straits of Malacca, not only capturing Portuguese vessels but even measuring the bulwarks of *A Famosa* by moonlight. In 1639 their captains were toasting the man who should become first Dutch Governor of Malacca within the year, and were confident that *A Famosa* would fall quickly before a resolute attack. But it was not until 1641 Malacca fell and then after a long siege.

The attack on the famous fort began in June 1640 by order of Antonio van Diemen, Governor-General at Batavia, and his Council, their Honours entrusting it to an old, experienced and bold soldier, Sergeant-Major Adriaen Antonissoon, who died during the siege. Twelve ships and six boats in half-moon formation blockaded the shore to cut off supplies, keeping up a cannonade to which Manuel de Souza Coutinho replied bravely and patiently with his heavy guns. At the end of July Johor sent a fleet of 40 sail carrying 1,400 or 1,500 men and on 2 August Antonissoon having as many men again, partly Dutch, partly German, landed his combined forces north of Tranquerah, expelled several hundred of the Portuguese troops from the first bastion, entered Tranquerah

and drove the defenders into the fortress. Within pistol shot of *A Famosa* the Dutch erected two batteries with sixteen 24-pounders, which made breaches in the strong bastions *Curassa* and *S. Domingos*, levelled the dome of the *Hospital dos Pobres* and damaged the great keep, St. Paul's Church and other large buildings beyond recognition: replying the heavy Portuguese guns on St. Paul's hill left not one house in the Dutch quarters at Tranquerah intact. By December plague had broken out among besiegers and besieged. Deserters from the Dutch encouraged the defence to persevere, while many of the besieged fleeing from the pangs of hunger reported that in the town were only 200 Europeans and 400 Eurasians and that a gallon of rice fetched 10 rix dollars and a pound of buffalo hide 5 or 6 cruzados; women and children had been expelled and a mother had exhumed the body of her child and devoured it. It is supposed that 7,000 persons died in the town and far more fled into the countryside so that of a population which the Dutch estimated at 20,000 souls only 3,000 were left. 1,500 Hollanders perished including three successive commanders who fell victims to disease; and, the whole of the secret council having died also, the Dutch officers appointed Captain Minne Willemssoon Kaartekoe to the command. On 14 January 1641, after a day of public prayer, 650 men who were still healthy, soldiers with muskets and sailors with ladders, advanced on the bastion *S. Domingos*, shouting their war-cry "Help us God." *S. Domingos* fell and then in succession *Madre de Deus, As Virgens, Santiago, Curassa* and the *Baluarte Hospital*. At the *Forteleza Velha* the Dutch lost twenty men and had to retire to the *Baluarte Hospital* beyond the reach of the enemy's heavy guns. And now rising from a sick-bed Kaartekoe came on the ramparts and arranged with the Portuguese governor for all the besieged except the King's soldiers, to be allowed a safe retreat. Though some churches and brothels were plundered, there was no murder and no ravishing. Portuguese civilians were left in their houses but were ordered to carry all their gold, silver and money to the church of St. Paul. The Governor Manuel de Souza Coutinho dying two days after his surrender was buried with great pomp and a Dutch guard of honour in the church of St. Domingo; traduced by some for his surrender as Kaartekoe was blamed by others for his humanity.

The Ouvidor-General, the priests and Jesuits and the principal Portuguese sailed in a Dutch ship for Negapatam, while the Portuguese troops were sent to Batavia. The daily mass at the altar of the cathedral for a Most Catholic King was hushed for ever. Only a few Portuguese and Eurasians were left, nucleus of a population for the reopening of the port.

Because the Dutch were aided by the Sultan of Johor, usurper of the Pahang throne which Iskandar Thani claimed, Acheh took no hand in the death-blow to her mortal foe and even threatened to side with Portugal. But a month after the capitulation of Malacca, Iskandar Thani died suddenly before he had time to take delivery of an extravagant order for eight pieces of European jewellery worth 74,000 guilders, which were left on the hands of the Dutch; he was followed by a succession of queens whose reigns saw the rapid decline and fall of their kingdom of pepper and pirates before the enterprise of Holland. With Johor the Achinese made peace, and fearful of another royal alliance, even shunned all intercourse. Johor's ruler, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah, son of the drunken 'Ala'u'd-din, had been a wanderer since he succeeded his unfortunate uncle in 1623, but now at last, quit of Portugal and Acheh, he returned to Johor and founded a new capital, Makam Tauhid, just above Batu Sawar, a suburb of the modern Kota Tinggi. He was still overlord of Malaya outside Malacca and Naning, of the Riau Archipelago and in Sumatra of Bengkalis, Kampar and Siak; but the new Dutch *entrepôt* and the extinction of his own royal line of Parameswara, founder of the first Malacca, were soon to lead to the disruption and decay of the kingdom of Johor. The future belonged to the Dutch.

ii.

THE DUTCH AT MALACCA.

Having captured Malacca, the Dutch proceeded to repair and strengthen its defences, sending to Johor for ten boat-loads of timber and 200 Malay carpenters to rebuild the bridge. The bastions, points and angles of the famous fortress got new names; St. Domingo was called Victoria, the great round bastion of Madre

Deos Emilia, the Eleven Thousand Virgins Henriette Louise, St Jago Wilhelmus, Courassa a spacious excellent bastion washed by the sea Fredrick Hendrick. The names were no longer to the glory of God but to the glory of the sponsors of a new commercial monopoly, and the walls of *A Famosa* instead of breathing the enchantment of Rome and the Middle Ages were now firmly established on a ledger-system. In 1673 and 1674, when France and England were at war with Holland, a moat was dug from the river to the sea-shore, that turned the fortress into an island:—" fresh and salt water fish come into and are preserved in it, yielding already some profit, although not much, from the annual farming, but it is evident that in time the profit will increase with the multiplication of the fish." Even at the yearly celebration of the anniversary of Malacca's capture, business went hand in hand with ceremony:—" In the morning at daybreak all the guns of the fort are fired and the soldiers standing on the walls discharge three volleys from their muskets. Then in the forenoon a sermon is preached in the church of St. Paul with special praise and thanks to God for the victory. When the sermon is over, the taxes imposed are publicly farmed out to the highest bidder *i.e.* by auction in the Governor's house in the presence of the Governor himself and of the Council." A Portuguese Viceroy could find pleasure in decorating his palace with imaginary portraits of all the hidalgos who had preceded him: Balthasar Bort like all men of his race was a realist and preferred to collect and put in his store against the dry season 8,000 glazed tiles (" costing 40 real a 1,000 ") in order to replace the common leaky tiles on his house. When on 31 August 1678 he retired from the governorship of Malacca, Bort left on its walls 49 brass and 33 iron cannon, on its outer defences 29 cannon and 8 pedreroes, and in its cellars 53,300 lbs. of gunpowder " mostly in glazed martaban jars," while " there was a powdermill turned by buffaloes and capable of producing 13,000 lbs. a year." To his successor he handed a list of all the stock in the arsenal, 66 firelocks, 20 carbines, 40 pistols (2 useless), 479 muskets (74 on loan), 153 broadswords, 236 daggers, 21 boarding axes, 20 halberds, 8 double bundles of drum cord. In the fort, as his books showed, there were 277 soldiers, " 14 of them cavalry under Riding Master Jan Gordon," who

took them abroad daily, both morning and afternoon, from "their stables near the bastion Emilia" into field and forest in order to catch "Manicaber kidnappers"; in the suburbs of Malacca there were 61 soldiers, including 7 in hospital; on yachts engaged in the blockade of the Perak and Linggi rivers there were 32 men—in all a garrison of 370 men. In war this force could be augmented by the other 181 servants of the Company, 24 Dutch burghers, 250 black Roman Catholics, 40 Chinese, 30 Moors, 70 Malays besides 36 Bugis. On the parade-ground as in the counting-house the Company always knew its exact position.

In 1678 the Company had in the Slavenburgh or De Misericorde, namely "the strong old high stone castle erected by the Portuguese" on the site of the Malay Sultan's palace, 185 slaves, employed in its bakery, hospital, armoury, stable, garden, warehouses and cow-shed and on public works. 39 slaves and 26 convicts were employed on public works, each drawing 40 lbs. of rice; the Company's slaves received men ¼ and women $\frac{1}{16}$ of a real monthly for salt, pepper and arrack, and once a year two pieces of negro cloth. Insolvent debtors were, on the creditors' demand, confined in the Slavenburgh and given an allowance of 1¼ lbs. of rice a day, but only if they were employed by the Company on public works.

To the engagement of coolies or hirelings the Company had recourse only under urgent necessity, since the daily wage was as a rule high and no matter how careful the supervision, there always occurred much messing and botching. Every hired slave cost the Honourable Company 8 to 10 stivers (pennies) a day, as their owners would not be satisfied with less, particularly if they saw the labour was needed.

At the end of 1641 there were 1,603 Portuguese in Malacca, and in the next year there were appointed three Portuguese magistrates as against four Dutch. In 1641 the garrison consisted of 333 soldiers and 211 sailors; in 1649 of 477 Hollanders besides 380 seamen; by 1663 it had fallen to 286. But there were many others who lived on the Company besides the garrison. In Bort's time the fort, the town and the suburbs had a population of 4,884 persons living in 137 brick and 583 palm-leaf houses: of these 145

were Dutch burghers, 1,469 Portuguese half-castes and blacks, 426 Chinese, 547 Moors and Gentoos (or Hindus), 588 Malays, 102 Bugis and 1,607 slaves. Such a population a quarter of a century after the Dutch occupation of Malacca makes one rather doubt the estimate of 20,000 inhabitants at the time of its capture in 1641, though it has to be remembered that the Portuguese held Malacca for 130 years. The population in 1678 was, however, big enough to require the services of a town surveyor, who saw to the alignment and drainage of streets, encroachments on private property, the security of party walls and the allocation of special places for lime-kilns and the storage of bricks and timber. This surveyor was also gauger in charge of ell-wands, measures and weights.

The feeding of the population ashore and afloat was a constant care. So important was it to keep safe the provisions, especially rice, that for a new store the timber was ordered from Siam and carpenters and ashlar-stones were got from Coromandel. To every ship and sloop lying in the harbour were issued on Saturdays green vegetables and a pig of size proportionate to the crew; ships with sick on board and ships going on or returning from distant voyages might by special command get more liberal provision. In Bort's time the Naning war made not only pigs, fowls and ducks but all kinds of vegetables so scarce and dear that ships in the roads had to do without fresh provisions. And wars sometimes hindered the import of rice from Java, the main source of supply. The store-keeper might never issue victuals to persons or ships, the Company's hospital, or the Slavenburgh without express authority, except only to members of Council who might purchase at fixed prices for family use meat and bacon, butter, sugar, Spanish wine, brandy, olive oil, coconut oil and Dutch vinegar. Wine and rice were distributed monthly in prescribed quantities to the Company's servants. The Governor received 20 pots of wine, the Chief Merchant 17, two Reformed preachers Domine Hubertus Leijdecker of Zirickzee and Bernardus Coop a Groen of Amsterdam 7 pots each, first lieutenants, merchants and the head surgeon 6, junior merchants, lieutenants and a preacher's widow 4 pots each. The preacher's widow, the five junior merchants and the two preachers ("both excellent and learned men of good life and peaceful

Malacca in Valentijn's time.

conversation ") each got 120 lbs. of rice a month, while 40 lbs. were allowed to book-binders, beadles, the Governor's life-guards, schoolmasters and the executioner; soldiers and sailors on shore also got 40 lbs. a month, " one measure of which must be taken from the least durable rice." In addition, as a good defender of the true Reformed religion and its servants, " the Company allowed each of its two learned preachers annually 50 pots of Spanish wine, 20 pots of Dutch vinegar, 50 lbs. of meat and bacon, 50 lbs. of Dutch butter and 10 pots of olive oil. And in case preaching did not touch carpenters and sailors, the P. W. D. overseer was instructed that all the master craftsmen with their journeymen and the boatswain with his sailors were morning and evening to attend prayers in the Slavenburgh and to go to Church on Sundays, and that any absentee would receive 50 strokes of the cat!

Moreover for the Company *laborare est orare* and the overseer has to " see to it that each master craftsman takes his men early in the morning, after prayers are over, to their appointed place and work, as also in the afternoon after dinner, and that he does not leave his place in the morning until 11 and in the afternoon till 5 o'clock when the signal for leaving off work is given by striking of the bell, meanwhile preventing any one from idling but seeing that all are kept steadily at work."

There was no nonsense about government for the sake of the governed: government was for the sake of the Company. But all men had natural rights (the observance of which was incidentally good for trade) and when the crew of the Dutch patrol ship *Exter* butchered the crew and passengers of a Moorish ship off Kedah in revolting circumstances, the Company decreed that the offenders should lose their right hands and be broken on the cross before final execution! Before " the treachery committed " by the Lusitanians in Brazil in 1645 even public celebration of the Mass was allowed. From that year in view of the political plottings of the priests, the Portuguese were " on land to have simply freedom of conscience in their private houses and, on their ships only, the free exercise of religion." Then in 1646 the order was given to clear Malacca of all half-breeds and other Portuguese " canaille," who refused to abandon the practice of the Romish faith " and

lived in idleness and usury on the sweat of the poor black inhabitants." "The plague," the Dutch decided, was "not so harmful as Jesuits," those "wolves in their sheep's clothing." There were even cases when priests used seditious language and dissuaded the community from its bounden duty towards its magistrates: they were therefore all ordered either to quit Malacca within one month or to lay aside their habit and clothe themselves like other citizens and no longer celebrate mass in public, and all Catholic chapels were to be pulled down or converted into dwelling houses. Later (1666) no Portuguese priests passing by from Goa, Macao or elsewhere were allowed even to come ashore on pain of a fine of 250 reals. Neither on shore nor on board might Catholics be baptized or married by their priests nor above all be re-baptized or remarried if they had been baptized or married by the Dutch Reformed ministers or marriage commissioners "on pain of unmerciful corporal punishment in addition to confiscation of all their goods." Moreover all marriages celebrated by "the popish priesthood" were deemed null and void. Still Malacca's Romish subjects contrived to maintain in secret priests to minister to them in sickness and give them the *Viaticum* at death. But persecution notably reduced the population, many Portuguese families and black fishermen removing to other places, and so few attending the Reformed service in Portuguese that sermons in that language were dropped. At the bottom of this mild persecution were the eighty years war and promotion of trade; for, unlike its predecessors, the Dutch Company cared only for its balance-sheet. But in 1712 there were still six times as many Catholics as Protestants in Malacca.

Neither proselytizers nor imperialists, Hollanders as a race had a profound respect for law and on acquiring Malacca decided to enforce "the tolls, licences and the cruising in the Straits, instituted by the Portuguese for the maintenance of the rights of Malacca and *now devolved on us by right of conquest*." This policy entailed

(*a*) the exaction of certain duties in the port and straits of Malacca not only on imports and exports but on passing ships whether they broke cargo or not;

(*b*) the payment of certain tithes and taxes by the vassal State of Naning

and (*c*) the attempted enforcement of monopoly especially for the most important produce of Malaya, the tin of Perak, Kedah, Selangor and Linggi. However, little success was to attend the Company's effort to follow the Portuguese practice and retain for itself the purchase of all tin, spices, pepper and sandalwood and a monopoly of the cloth trade.

The Company recognised no obligation to let Portuguese, English, Danes or others trade in waters it had acquired by right of conquest and held by costly fleets and fortresses, though it exacted duties "with distinction of nations" and often "with moderation" except for the Portuguese who in their day had demanded toll from the Dutch. On payment of duty, foreign ships were granted passes, without which they were liable to confiscation. Generally British vessels were exempted as also (at one time) were all ships belonging to the king of Siam. And from courtesy and policy the Company excused the noblemen of its old ally, Johor, from export and import dues. But it was as ruthless as its interests allowed towards ships belonging to Malays, Chinese and Muslim Indians or "Moors." At times it refused all passes to Indian vessels bound for Acheh and Perak and refused to recognise passes given them by English and Danes. Countries like Acheh, Perak and Kedah, when blockaded by it into treaties, had to promise not to trade with Moors and Malays, Javanese and Chinese, unless these traffickers had first called at Malacca, paid dues and obtained passes "in accordance with the old Malacca right." In 1641 dues included anchorage fees, fees for port clearance and a poll-tax on crews.

The rate of taxation varied from time to time. Portuguese duties had run from 2 to 9 per cent. The Dutch at first imposed a duty of 5 per cent. on exports and 9 on imports. But three years later the Portuguese were paying "under protest" only 4½ per cent. In 1664 the Governor of Malacca was instructed "to demand from every Portuguese vessel according to her size and without manipulating her cargo: of a small yacht 300 rix-dollars,

of a middle-sized ship 400 rix-dollars; and of a large ship 500 rix-dollars. And if any one shall undertake to break cargo at Malacca, he shall, the same as other traders, pay the Company the toll of 10 per cent. on his entire cargo." In 1678 pepper (from Johor), tin and resin, all of which had to be sold to the Company on pain of confiscation, were exempt from duty. So, too, rice, slaves and buffaloes, provided they were first offered to the Company, a concession due to its recurrent need for such commodities. There were duties on gold (which came from Kedah), on silver, jewels, bezoar stones, musk, civet, iron, lead and such small wares as fowls, eggs, fish, fruit, rattans, sandalwood and eaglewood: if offered to the Company, most of them were duty-free. A very important dutiable article was cloth. All cloths from Surat, Coromandel and Bengal, even if bought by the Company, were subject to an import tax of ten per cent. of their value and to an export tax of five per cent. However much the Company resented these Moorish and Portuguese imports, it was generally deemed more profitable to let their ships enter Dutch harbours and pay dues and attract local customers by their Indian wares rather than drive these interlopers to other ports. In lieu of cash payment, Moors and Portuguese from India had a tenth of their cargo unloaded and sold by public auction. For Company's cloth there was a preferential tariff. Pepper and cloves might be sold by private Malacca merchants but only at a rate prescribed and only for export to Macao, China and Manila, never to India or Europe. Their damage to the Company's trade led in 1698 to a resolution to raise the duty payable at Malacca by Moors and other private traders to 20 per cent., and all native traders without passes were to be "encumbered by arrest." Those showing certificates from English and Danish factories in India were to be charged 20 per cent. on their first visit but Portuguese certificates were not to be respected. In 1679 Batavia instructed the Governor to admit Portuguese, English and other Europeans on payment of 20 per cent. duty. But in 1688 this order was repealed and no packages or merchandise from foreign vessels were to be landed, which prohibition was reiterated in 1689, when landing of such goods was absolutely forbidden "even if they offered double duty and the remainder of their cargoes." In 1692 "the toll was

again fixed at 13 per cent. of imports and exports, there discharged or sold." In 1744 the toll was reduced to 6 per cent.

Acheh and Malacca were the centres of a tin-trade, that was carried on mostly by Moors from Bengal, Surat and Coromandel. To secure a monopoly, in 1647 Batavia prohibited the entry of Moors' ships to Acheh and to all Malay ports, a measure that caused the Great Mogul to loot the Dutch factory at Surat, whereupon the Dutch seized two of his ships from Mocha with cargoes worth one and a half million dollars. The seizure was effective. No vessels from Surat and Bengal came to Acheh. A Javanese, too, might traverse Perak with salt, sugar and other small wares "like a pedlar with his pack" and dispose of them for tin but he had at first to get a pass from Malacca, where 40 to 50 reals were taken from him to ensure that he would return and sell his cargo of tin to the Company at its own fixed price. No wonder that the "reckless and proud" Malays and Javanese often "murdered" their oppressors. Half the tin of Perak and Kedah and all the tin of Bangarij and all the pepper of Indragiri were required by treaties, concluded by the argument of blockade, to be sold to the Company at a low fixed rate,—which in practice made the treaties nugatory. At Malacca no tin might be sold to any purchaser but the Company which at the end of each year sent its accumulation in its own ships to India, Ceylon, Persia and Holland.

iii.

DUTCH DEPENDENCIES AND MONOPOLIES.

Naning.

During the siege of 1641 not only the Malays of Johor but the Minangkabaus of Naning and Rembau had helped the Dutch "mainly for their own advantage, robbing and stealing especially from the slaves of the Portuguese but also from the native Christians who fled by reason of hunger and were ordered to leave the town." So as early as 15 August articles were concluded with the Naning chiefs who promised to be loyal vassals, pay a tithe of their crops and a tenth of the money passing at land transactions, on penalty of death not to circumcise Christians or

sell them to Moors or heathen and on pain of forfeiting not only life but goods also not to trade with any one but the Dutch at Malacca. But after the *amanhã* of the Portuguese, no Malay or Minangkabau could understand the strenuous earnestness of their supplanters. Naning was so slow to surrender arms and bring down rice and betel-nuts and so quick to sell to Bengkalis Christian slaves wanted at Malacca as bricklayers that by January 1642 the Dutch were blockading the Naning branch of the Linggi river and seizing Minangkabau boats. It was decided to defer in Naning any demand for a poll-tax and rent on lands and houses and to collect only the tithe—which it took 50 armed men to accomplish. In 1642 there was a shortage of rice at Malacca, so that grain had to be imported from Kedah and Trang. Accordingly in 1643 the Malacca Council decided to send a deputation "to persuade the Minangkabaus of Naning to adopt an agricultural and peaceful life." But selected to raise the refractory villagers "from the state of barbarism under which they laboured" senior merchant Snoueq said he was unwell and not proficient in Malay and that the road was impassable. So on 3 February Malacca's second Governor, van Vliet, himself set out with 60 Dutch and 100 Asiatic soldiers and exhorted the chiefs that the planting of more pepper and rice would "eradicate malignity." The Minangkabaus cheered His Excellency but though it required the labour of only four men to clear the Naning river, jibbed at the work and declared that they never would be slaves. The deputation went on to Rembau, whose recalcitrants delayed the return of fugitive slaves and refused to pay compensation for stolen goods or give up Tampin, which had been presented to them by Johor. Marching from Naning to "eradicate this malignity," Captain Forsenburgh and Shahbandar Menie with six Dutch soldiers were massacred, whereupon Governor van Vliet hastened to the spot with all his forces but was so hard pressed that he had to abandon a chest containing 13,000 reals and retire to Malacca. The Dutch were now at war with Rembau and Naning and as fearful of Johor as Johor of them: the trade of Malacca decreased and river plantations were abandoned. However the Sultan of Johor sent envoys to Malacca to express distress at the death of his good friend Menie and despatched envoys to Batavia to testify that the rebellious Minangkabaus so

far from being his subjects were tenants of his prime minister, the Bendahara; but Batavia was not impressed with this constitutional quibble and expected armed assistance. The Sultan now, in 1644, sent that prime minister, famous in Negri Sembilan folk-lore as Bendahara Sekudai, to deal with his troublesome tenants, a business he accomplished by appointing his own poor relations chiefs of Rembau and other smaller settlements, and then crossing over to Pahang whence the Minangkabaus being few and defenceless fled before him.

Early in 1645 the Dutch sent 350 men under Joan Truijtman to "exterminate" the men of Naning and Rembau. They burnt a village, destroyed orchards and rice-fields and then by reason of lack of supplies, exhaustion and the mustering of 2,000 malignants retired. The enemy continued to plunder and enslave Malaccans by forest and shore. A year later Governor Arnold de Vlamingh van Outshorn despatched a punitive force of 570 men including 290 whites. After five days they reached Naning, felled 800 coconut and betel palms, exhausted their ammunition, built a stockade and encamped, to rest before retreating. But upset by the wanton destruction of their palms the Naning folk hoisted a flag of truce and asked for terms. The Dutch demanded that for the murder of Forsenburgh and Menie six chiefs should be executed, three from Naning and three from Rembau, and similarly common fellows for other victims of the 1643 massacre; all stolen persons and van Vliet's chest were to be restored and the Minangkabaus were to defray the cost of the punitive expeditions and publicly with bare heads to crave pardon. Batavia, having long recognised that van Vliet's haste had caused all the trouble, remitted the death penalties. The Minangkabaus did not mind baring their heads, to them a gesture of contempt. And as for defraying the cost of expeditions or paying damages for stolen slaves, they had no money but they restored what they could, *videlicet* six slaves, 1 silver candle-stick, 2 silver spoons, 8 silver dishes, 1 Spanish cassock, 1 undergarment, 1 red satin doublet. The Minangkabaus had their pride and Rembau, too, delivered 81 reals' weight of silver-plate, 117 gold buttons, 2 old blood-stained hats, 2 ragged pairs of breeches, 270 *gantang* of rice and 22½ reals in cash.

After the destruction of Johor by Jambi in 1673 and the flight of the Sultan to Pahang, the people of Rembau, Sungai Ujong and Klang having prospered and multiplied and waxed proud persuaded Naning to join them in making a Minangkabau king of their own. The prince of their choice, Raja Ibrahim, was denounced by the Dutch as a presumptuous impostor who professed to be able to poison the wind, bewitch firearms and render himself invisible; claims that terrified the black Roman Catholics and other silly credulous people. 3,700 Minangkabaus ravaged Malacca's countryside, and attacked her suburbs, but, though with 258 soldiers and 600 levies Governor Bort could not take the offensive, none of his men were killed and only three wounded, in particular Lieutenant Jan Rosdom who unhorsed by an enemy pikeman got him down, until help came and the malignant was killed in "all his fine habiliments" and had his head stuck on a post. In spite of Batavia being able to send only 150 troops, the little war cost fl. 7,814.15.10, which the Governor hoped to raise from public subscription! In 1679 the invulnerable impostor, Raja Ibrahim, was murdered by a Bugis slave, and Naning and Rembau begged forgiveness and concluded another treaty with the Dutch but successfully pleaded poverty as an excuse for not paying a fine of 60 slaves, 100 buffaloes and 25 cattle. Thereafter the Company had little trouble with its vassal. With their respect for law and concern for Malacca subjects, the Dutch tried, though with small success, to keep in their own hands the power of life and death. They appointed and installed Naning chiefs. If they never ceased to rail at their idle, sluggish, lazy and perfidious vassals, still they saw quite clearly it was impracticable to get the rascals to pay tithes to the Company as well as to their own chiefs, and accordingly in lean seasons waived a collection that did not cover its cost, after 1765 accepting the merely nominal tribute of 400 quart measures of rice a year. Finally the Company never claimed to own or alienate Naning lands. Perhaps the Naningites, lovers of their own matriarchal law, developed a respectful admiration for Dutch justice, harsh as it was; perhaps they preferred Dutch phlegm, however trying, to the restless energy of the Bugis who now come on the scene; anyhow, even when in 1773 the other Minangkabau

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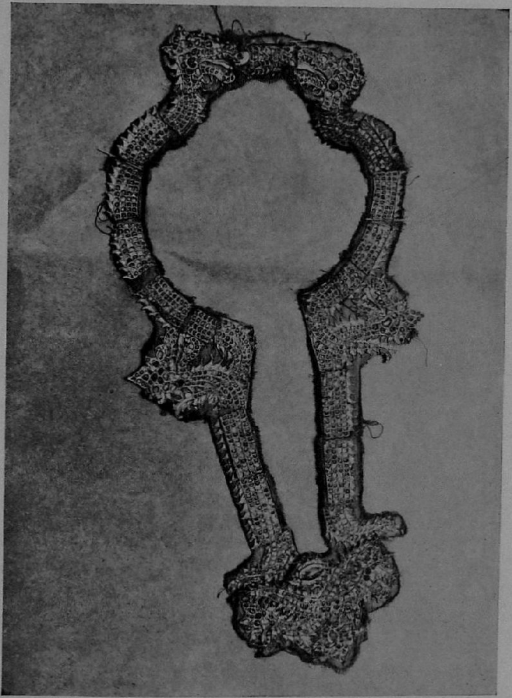

Royal Collar Ornament, Perak.

states found a king of their own and started the Negri Sembilan, Naning stuck to her European suzerain and took no part in this Sumatran nationalist movement.

The Tin States.

The tin-fields of the modern Selangor and Negri Sembilan were part of the old Johor empire, and Dutch attempts to get a monopoly of their ore are part of the history of that empire: the tin-fields of Perak and Kedah have a history of their own.

Perak.

In 1639 the Dutch made a contract with Perak's suzerain Acheh allowing them to buy the Perak tin they needed for their trade with Surat and Persia. And by June 1641 head-merchant Jan Dircxen Puijt anchored off the Dindings with a cargo worth 17,810.18.5 florins for the Perak trade, a present from Johan van Twist, first Governor of Malacca, for the Sultan and a letter blandly proposing that His Highness should stop all dealings with others and sell the whole of his tin to the Company. The Sultan presented Puijt with a creese, a Malay title and a lodge and gladly accepted goods on credit but shunned all talk of monopoly; leaving Puijt to complain of the poorness of a trade shared by Achinese, Javanese, Moors and Bengalis. Thereupon the Governor-General at Batavia induced the Susunan of the Javanese empire of Mataram to ordain public floggings for any of his subjects who sailed to Perak; while, as in Portuguese days, cruisers were stationed to intercept all Moors' vessels bound for Perak, Kedah and Junk Ceylon and bring them to Malacca to pay toll and get permits, this measure being designed to increase not only the tin trade but business at Malacca. Taking advantage perhaps of the Naning rebellion, Perak's Sultan refused to co-operate in this policy and threatened to take back the lodge recently given to Puijt; at which the Dutch began their first blockade of the Perak estuary and reduced the Sultan to give them fair words and a friendly face but still no monopoly. Owing to the exclusion of Moor vessels from Acheh and all Malay ports, in 1649 Malacca got mostly from Perak 770,000 pounds of tin, an extraordinary quantity, and in December 1650 a commissioner from Batavia, Joan Truijtman, managed to extort from Acheh a treaty allowing the Company to share with Acheh a monopoly

of the Perak tin trade to the exclusion of all other Europeans and Indians. The Perak lodge was immediately reopened but "the very foul and murderous" Malays made no scruple of killing all its inmates. In 1652 the Sultan of Kedah held Joan Truijtman a prisoner but having been released, on 15 December 1653 he negotiated a fresh treaty with Sultan Muzaffar of Perak, which proved of so little effect that a third treaty was made two years later:—the Dutch were to share with Acheh a monopoly of Perak tin to the exclusion of all other Europeans and Indians, to be granted a site, the length of a cannon-shot, for a lodge, and to be paid 50,000 reals for the cutting off of their lodge in 1651, while the Malay chiefs accessory to that cutting off were to be executed and the Perak prime minister was to be dismissed from office. "Shortly after" Bort records, "by reason of Perak's failure to maintain our agents in their rights, the factory was again abandoned." Perak "rode the high horse," sent tin to Acheh and let foreigners intrude on the trade. Acheh, which before the Dutch capture of Malacca had been so useful for their trade with the Moors, was now Holland's rival for that same trade. The blockade both of Perak and Acheh was entrusted to Balthasar Bort, who eleven years later as retiring Governor of Malacca let the cat out of the bag: vengeance for the "foul massacre" in Perak veiled the real aim of the blockade which was to compel Acheh to buy Indian cloths from Malacca. In September 1659 Acheh signed a treaty with Governor-General Joan Maatsuijcker, again dividing the annual output of Perak tin equally between the Company and the Achinese and consenting to the gradual extinction of the Perak indemnity for the 1651 massacre by a reduction in the price paid by the Dutch for tin, which reduction was a strong inducement to the Perak Malays to sell their ore to Achinese, Moors and others. Affronted at this treaty made by Acheh for her own benefit and aware of the failing power of her suzerain, Perak threatened to transfer allegiance to Johor and might even have contracted a treaty with the Dutch, if Malacca could have guaranteed her long coast-line protection against the Achinese. Gradually the Dutch got better supplies of tin from Perak, so few Achinese vessels visiting the state, that Batavia, slow to realize Acheh's decay, warned Governor van Riebeck at Malacca to beware of her intentions.

Stem of a Royal Perak Tray.

In 1670, to save the island from English occupation the Dutch built a wooden fort at the Dindings for the 59 men engaged in the Perak blockade. The Governor of Malacca adjured the Sergeant never to let his men go abroad without a stout broadsword and a gun " of which the natives are very much afraid," to make them plant fruit and vegetables on week-days, to hold divine worship and have a sermon read on Sundays, to set his men a good example in sobriety and all the virtues, to fly the Dutch flag only on Sundays or when ships were sighted and to bring it in when it rained. The sailors were not to be allowed to drink up all their arrack as soon as it arrived, and while for civil offences the Sergeant could have them keel-hauled, criminals were to be sent for trial to Malacca. In 1689 Dampier visited the island and has described how a cry of " Malayans " made the captain leave his silver punch-bowl full of liquor and jump out of his window to rush to the defence of the fort. In 1690 it was " cut off " by the Malays under one, Panglima Kulup, and only reopened in 1745, to be abandoned three years later for a fort up-river at Tanjong Putus.

1785 saw the last treaty between the Dutch Company and Perak. The Sultan now promised to deliver *all* the tin his country produced to the Company, but a year later Francis Light founded the free port of Penang and the promise became a dead letter. In 1795, when Malacca was taken over by Great Britain, Lord Camelford then a Lieutenant in the Navy and Lieutenant Macalister proceeded up the Perak river with a small force and compelled Christoffel Walbeehm to surrender the Dutch fort at Tanjong Putus, which half a century ago was broken up by an English Superintendent of Lower Perak to metal the roads of Teluk Anson! In 1819 the Dutch tried to re-establish themselves at Pangkor but did not succeed.

Kedah.

On 6 July 1641 in response to a request from the Sultan for an organ, Sr. Hermansen arrived at Kedah with a letter and presents from the Governor-General at Batavia and got a promise from the " modest unpretentious " Sultan that he would refuse Moors entry to his state and order them to fetch passes from Malacca, would sell half of Kedah's annual output of tin to the Company and accept

a Dutch accountant to check that output. But this bright beginning was to be followed by annoyances and disappointment. The organist sent to the Kedah court "behaved like a beggar," an upper-merchant cheated the Company by private deals in porcelain, two elephants bought in Kedah cost 2¾ reals a week for their keep, and the "modest unpretentious" Sultan continued to despatch great quantities of tin to Coromandel, to trade in tin, elephants and calico with ships from Bengal, Coromandel and Java and to let Moorish cloth be sent overland to Patani, Ligor and Pahang. A blockade was started but the Moors crept past the Dutch cruisers. From 1654 until 1657 Malacca opened a factory for trade in tin, gold and elephants but in 1658 the Malays killed nine of the crew of the yacht *Hoorn*, and another blockade was started in the hope of depriving the Sultan of revenue got from Moorish and Portuguese ships, though the captains ran their vessels up creeks, from which the cargoes were transported overland on elephants and buffaloes. The export of elephants from Kedah to Indian ports was allowed on payment of duty, while on imports Moors had to pay a 5 *per cent.* duty unless they were sold to the Company: vessels leaving Kedah without Dutch passes had to deliver up all or half their tin at a price fixed by Batavia and vessels with passes a third of their tin. Later even Dutch passes from India and readiness to pay dues at Malacca rates could not get Portuguese and Moor ships entrance: they had to visit Malacca for permits and deliver for the fixed Dutch price part of any tin they wanted to export from Kedah. Malays, Javanese and Chinese were not allowed to take part in the tin trade and, unless they agreed to take to Malacca any tin found in their vessels, it was removed and a bill given to enable them to get payment for it at Malacca. The blockade was so resented that in 1661 Kedah sent two vessels down to Malacca to try to kidnap some of its Dutch inhabitants. Moors still evaded the patrol ships and put their cargoes on English ships or employed English sailors and flew the English flag, while Indian Nabobs threatened reprisals in Indian waters. The nerves even of the blockaders suffered. In 1663 the crew of the *Exter*, one of the Dutch patrols, massacred the entire crew of a Moor ship bound for Junk Ceylon, violating the women and then throwing them overboard with sacks of rice tied to their

necks: one child leapt into the water and swam aboard begging for her life but she was seized by the legs and had her head dashed against the ship's side. Hard bargainers, the Dutch were just. The four chief "monsters" were broken on a cross and finally beheaded, three of them having first had their right hands chopped off: five men were hanged. The blockade of Kedah was interminable, but the cheapness of the Moorish cloths there continued to attract a large Malay and Javanese traffic. The Dutch consoled themselves that even if they could prevent Moors from entering, "the Honourable Company would all the same not attain its object, since the English, Portuguese, French and Danes, principally the first named, would in time of peace frequent Kedah so much the more, whereas, since the Moors are there, they mostly stay away, knowing that, as regards the trade in cloth in competition with them, they, like ourselves, have no chance." The two trading treaties with Kedah had proved an illusion: a diplomatic gesture on the part of Malays soon to awaken to the vexation of Dutch doggedness, a serious but ineffectual effort for monopoly by the Company. Kedah was too far to the north for an effective blockade. She was too close to India and too favoured by the monsoons for the Dutch to prevent her flourishing trade in tin and elephants with the Muslim and European merchants of that country. Her suzerain was Siam but the hold of Siam over Kedah was too vague for the Dutch to benefit by any treaty with that suzerain. In the eighteenth century the Bugis conducted three Kedah wars under the noses of the Dutch and just before the founding of Penang it was the Bugis and not the Dutch or Siamese who played the chief part in Kedah politics.

iv.

THE DECAY OF THE COMPANY.

The decay of the Dutch Company began even before the close of the seventeenth century. Throughout the last half of that century Holland was constantly at war with England or France or both, a condition that drained her of men and money. In the East the insistence on one-sided treaties, the attempt to enforce monopolies by blockades and divert trade to Dutch ports by methods only technically different from piracy, such measures led to endless

wars, which cost the Company large sums. In the Malay Peninsula the Malays and the Minangkabaus defied Dutch monopoly and the Bugis conducted guerilla warfare up to the walls of Malacca. The policy that profits were to cover the cost of administration failed. The Company's system of book-keeping was complicated and poor. Accounts kept in Asia did not tally with accounts kept in Holland, so that while in the East the balance sheet would show great profits, a balance sheet struck in the Netherlands for the same period would show a loss. Holland and the East put different values on the same currency and even in the Dutch Indies there was no common monetary standard. In the middle of the XVIIIth century the Company employed besides 3,500 sailors, 18,000 slaves and others, including soldiers. In 1750 the army pay-roll amounted to 5½ million guilders to which had to be added the cost of forts and factories. Dues and monopolies did not cover even Malacca's expenditure, except rarely as in 1665 under the administration of Jan van Riebeck, the founder of Cape Colony; and no one had the courage to prune the garrison, as it might have been pruned after Portugal and England had retired from Malayan waters. Moreover among the Company's servants there were nepotism, corruption, dishonesty and private trading.* Some of the highest officials bought up rice and secured to themselves a monopoly of this indispensable food supply. Overweights and short payments compensated officials for small salaries. Some Hollanders broke their oath, left the Company and sold their experience for high wages under foreign competitors. In 1674 Bort had to issue a circular against the giving of advances by officials to Moors of Coromandel for the purpose of buying cloths and selling them at Malacca to the detriment of the Company's business. The staff in Perak was threatened with heavy penalties if any of them used fictitious names to cheat the Company for their own pecuniary benefit. In 1778 a young Dutchman wrote home from Batavia: "Let me enumerate

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* *Note.*—The English in India were no better. "The Company's representatives organized three revolutions, each time making their nominee pay handsomely. A House of Commons Committee later learnt that between 1757 and 1766 the Company's servants in Bengal alone received over £2,500,000 as private presents, and another £3,770,833 as 'compensation' for losses incurred. Madras was equally dishonest." *A History of India*, by Edward Thompson, London, 1928.

the good situations in which one makes an immense fortune in a few years. The two berths of Administrator at Onrust, an island containing the richest ware-houses and where homeward vessels take in cargo, afford every opportunity for smuggling and trafficking. Not a year passes in which the occupants of these posts do not make 100 sacks, and every sack brings a profit of 100 *écus*. I am not in the least exaggerating. Just think that these gentlemen pay 10 sacks a year, the recognised bribe, to the water-fiscal.... Then there are governorships, directorates, etc. Such are the positions in which a fortune is to be made...." It was "almost degrading" to be an officer in the Company's military forces and "they are completely excluded from good society." In 1786 the young man, Reynier Bernardus Hoynck van Papendrecht was Shahbandar at Malacca and describes his life there "I lead the life of a prince. I live in the finest house of the town, which is also the best and most modernly furnished. I have a nice country-place which I occupy when shipping is slack. I further have a splendid property called Tanjong Kling, on which four villages are situated. I cannot tell you the exact number of my slaves but it is over sixty. I have my coach and gig, three sets of horses and two saddle-horses." As a Councillor of Police he could roll about in a gilt coach and wear a velvet coat. "I have a large office staff: the most arduous part of my task is to receive money and to sign my name. My employment is highly agreeable, profitable and independent, because my revenues are not made to the detriment of the Company. In the beginning of my stay here I gained much by trade and shipping, but on top of the war with the English came a war with the natives from which I had to suffer." No wonder that in 1795 a commission appointed by the States-General reported that the Company was bankrupt and its commerce almost ruined. In 1798 the newly established Batavian Republic annulled the charter of 1602 and took over the remaining possessions of a Company that had dominated Malaya for a century and a half. With all its faults that Company had created for Holland a colonial empire.

VII

THE JOHOR EMPIRE.

i.

THE BEGINNING.

Their battle for Malacca lost, the Malay chiefs fled, Sultan Mahmud to Batu Hampar up the Malacca river, his son Ahmad south to Pagoh on the Muar, where the grave of his grandfather (with its texts on the vanity of life) was then still white, hardly more than two decades old. But Ahmad's last stand for the ashes of his ancestors failed. As we have seen, the Portuguese forced the hot-head to join his father in flight across the Peninsula through forest depths no enemy dared to penetrate. It was a small party for the emperor of the Malacca kingdom, only the Sultan and his family and some fifty followers. And a sorry progress it must have been: women and children weak from hardships; sickened by the rolling gait of elephants as they were tilted up and down ravines; missing the sea-fish and luxuries of the cosmopolitan port they had left for ever; lamenting lost silks and trinkets, fugitive slaves and relatives killed in the fighting; afraid of the malignant spirits lurking in that great sea of forest. And their master, lord of the only Malay empire the Peninsula was ever destined to have, Sultan Mahmud with his moody temper and his clever caustic tongue? Was he still confident in the luck of that white blood which his divine ancestors had shared with Shiva and his own veins shared with Muslim saints? Was he still hot as he had been against Ahmad, the fire-eating son who had rattled the creese for that disastrous bout with those chain-clad " White Bengalis " ? Or was he sulky and despondent, nauseated by jungle food and seeking consolation in the opium-pipe which the Portuguese say he loved? Daily mahouts and paddlers took him further into exile. The war elephants had to be abandoned. Crossing the Jempul watershed the royal fugitives followed the Serting river into Pahang, a route first travelled by an Englishman in 1827 when the journey from Malacca took a strenuous fortnight and three weeks after his return the forest devils, called by white medicine-men malaria, visited the adventurer with death.

At last Sultan Mahmud reached the court of his cousin of Pahang. To add to the fugitives' depression, the north-east monsoon was soon upon them, those months of incessant rain that driving across the China sea frays men's nerves in spite of junketings and made the Pekan court for centuries a scene of dark intrigue and bestial tortures. There were long idle days when, if he had the heart, Sultan Mahmud could listen once more, as he had listened at Malacca, to Malay folk-tales and Muslim romances, to discussions on the doctrines of Ghazzali and to the theological conundrums that had interested him in happier times. He staged a wedding between his daughter Fatimah and his host's son, an alliance and an easy gesture of gratitude for hospitality that was to last a year. A wedding was always gay with feasting and dances and drums and cock-fighting and here certainly with the shadow-play which Majapahit conquerors had left on that coast a hundred and fifty years before; that shadow-play where, as we have seen, the old Hindu gods come down and are present in their puppet portraits, and, the play ended, Shiva descends to drive his army of evil spirits out of the great door of the palm-leaf theatre. But though Shiva as god of death was busy enough with the crews of carracks on their voyage round the Cape, yet he could not spirit the white djinns of Portugal away from the Malayan stage, and an exile's rice is bitter to the taste. With the change of the monsoon, Mahmud despatched "one of his uncles," d'Albuquerque tells us, an Indian trader, Nasim Mudeliar, to China to ask help from the Son of Heaven against Portugal but having heard of the prowess of the Portuguese and knowing that d'Albuquerque had kindly entreated the Chinese of the five junks while the Sultan had practised tyrannies upon foreign traders at Malacca, His Imperial Majesty made excuses, saying that he was at war with the Tartars.

It was time to found a new kingdom but at first the Malays were too cowed to venture another of those port capitals that alone brought revenue. Overlord though he was of the east coast of the Peninsula from Patani to the southernmost extremity of Asia, that remote monsoon-bound coast could provide Sultan Mahmud no effective base for guerilla warfare against the Portuguese

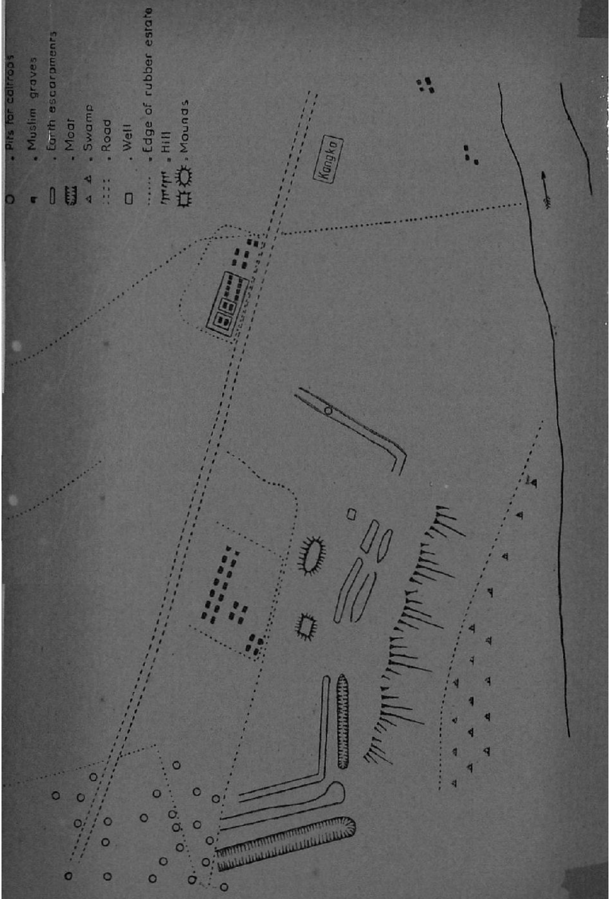

Fig. 16. Plan of the Fort at Sayong Pinang, Johor.

at Malacca. He was overlord of the west coast from Kedah downwards but here the estuaries were too close to Malacca for safety. Overlord of all Malaya except Malacca and Naning, he had yet to seek refuge in the narrow upper reaches of the Sayong, a tributary of the Johor river, where at Sayong Pinang, as graves attest, Malacca Malays had lived for more than half a century. Sultan Mahmud once remarked that a king's sword attracts gold, and to found a new settlement little else was required beyond palm-thatched houses built in a day or a week or a month according to size and stability, a patch of forest felled for dry rice, and a fleet of dug-outs for transport and trading. But the Sayong retreat was too far from the sea for the wanderer to collect revenue from toll on shipping; so gaining courage he removed to Bintan or Riau, the island Raffles tried three centuries later to secure for a British trading station until he found that the Dutch had forestalled him. There at Riau, Sultan Mahmud preserved the old-world pomp of the Malacca court; astonishing visitors by his gold and silver plate and the hushed dignity of the palace service; still exacting homage from fiefs like Bruas, when they proved careless of a king in exile; still conferring titles and giving his daughters to Sumatran princes, the rulers of Indragiri, Siak and Deli, who under the spell of the old Malacca dynasty were ready to assist its head to assert his divine right against the European intruder. Exile did not improve his temper. On the occasion of one of the many attacks on Malacca, when a storm spoilt the tactics and one of the royal elephants had its right tusk broken in a charge, the testy Sultan rated his commander as a prodigious liar for professing without reason to be braver than 'Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, and cleverer than the Imam Ghazzali. In some black fit after his arrival at Bintan he had his son Ahmad killed; according to Ruy de Brito because the young man did not share his opium-smoking father's desire for peace; according to the *Malay Annals* because he feasted wild young counsellors, neglecting the old, whereupon his father, shadow of Allah upon earth, saw to it the words of the Kuran were fulfilled that no man shall outlive his appointed time. After Mascarenhas destroyed Bintan in 1526, the overlord of so great a part of the Malay world was dragged off the bridge by his ministers and escorted, a fugitive, to wander

in the jungle, his aching feet bound with cloth; indebted for his life (according to the same scribe) only to members of that great house whose wages were cracked porcelain and death. "So long as Your Highness lives," one of them rightly consoled him, "ten kingdoms can be created." And not even then were the Portuguese such masters of the Straits as to prevent the Sultan's deputy in Selangor slinking past Malacca a fortnight later with twenty boats and removing his fugitive liegelord to rule over Kampar in Sumatra, where after two years he entered that strait gate of death, which, as the Kuran told him, is the goal of all wanderings.

As we have seen, Sultan Mahmud left two claimants for his throne, an elder son Muzaffar by a Kelantan princess, a younger 'Ala'u'd-din whose mother was daughter of Tun Mutahir, the Bendahara executed by Mahmud in Malacca for treason twenty years ago. When 'Ala'u'd-din was born, his hair was shaved with a golden knife, and baby clothes were brought him on an elephant, escorted by flags and banners and painted standards (which Islam has now banished from Malay ceremony); moreover from his elder brother were taken away his embroidered mat and his carpet, deprivation symbolic as the removal of a mandarin's peacock feather. It is not surprising that the Bendahara family drove away the elder prince (to become first Sultan of Perak) and chose as ruler of Johor the younger prince of their own blood and carried him off still in his 'teens to safety and marriage with a cousin in Pahang. After his wedding in Pahang, the boy Sultan, 'Ala'u'd-din, settled on the upper reaches of the Johor river, guarded by a downstream fort whose earthwork still exists at Sungai Telor a few miles from Kota Tinggi. A few years later he moved to Johor Lama, a capital sacked by Acheh in 1564, when 'Ala'u'd-din was removed a captive to Sumatra. Before the end of the Johor empire it was to have many other capitals on the Johor river, Seluyut, Batu Sawar, Makam Tauhid, Panchor, and two in the Riau archipelago; for it mattered little where was the palm-thatched court, so long as in it there was the sacred white-blooded person of an emperor.

The history of Johor for the next hundred years has been told as part of the history of the Portuguese and Dutch periods of Peninsular history.

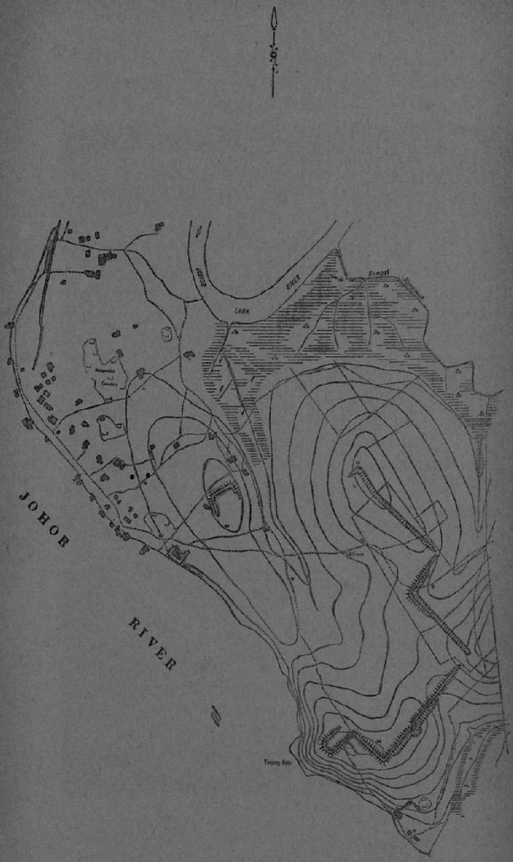

Fig. 17. Plan of the remains of the Fort at Johor Lama.

As for Perak, corroboration that its rulers are descended from the old Sultans of Malacca comes from the coronation address once used in Malacca and still used in Perak. Bearing the old Malacca title of Sri Nara 'diraja, the chief herald at the Kuala Kangsar court claims to be a descendant of Batala (or Basava) that mythical incarnation of Shiva's bull, Nandi, sent down to a Palembang rice-clearing to instal as ruler of Sri Vijaya an ancestor of the royal family of Malacca and Perak (*vide* p. 26). Still on the accession of a Perak ruler Sri Nara 'diraja reads a coronation address, like the address in Sanskrit with a Tamil tinge which in old Malacca ran as follows:—" fortunate great king, smiter of rivals, valorous, whose crown jewels ravish the three worlds, whose touch dispels suffering, protector, pilot over the ocean of battle, confuter of opponents, fortunate overlord of kings of righteousness, supreme lord of the kingdom—Raja Parameswara." And, as at the initiation of a child into one of the higher Hindu castes his teacher whispers the name of the god who is to be the child's special protector through life, so into the ear of each new ruler of Perak this court herald whispers the State secret, namely the real Hindu name of the demigod who (according to the myth) descended on that hill-clearing by Mahameru to become the ancestor and guardian of Perak royalty. Down all the centuries the tie has persisted: the descendant of the herald born from Nandi's vomit is herald to the descendant of the divine prince who rode on Nandi's back.

ii.

THE PASSING OF MALAY RULE.

In 1641 the Dutch had seized Malacca and in that same year Iskandar Thani, last of Acheh's imperialist pirates, had died. It must have seemed to Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil of Johor that quit of peril from Portugal and Acheh and allied with Holland he might revive the dynastic glory and the prosperous trade of his Malacca ancestors. From now until the nineteenth century, when the empire broke up, Pahang was part of Johor. In 1644 the Sultan's younger brother was accepted in marriage by the queen of Patani. Fear of the Dutch had made Jambi and Acheh his allies. In Sumatra, two centres of the pepper trade, Bengkalis and Kampar,

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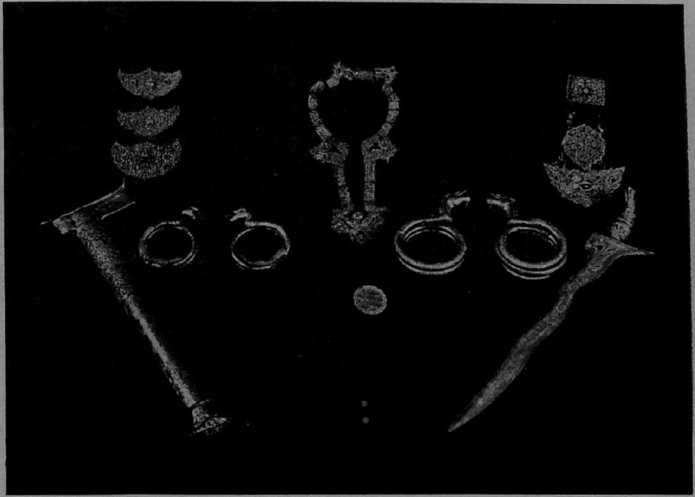


Perak Regalia.

were his dependencies; the important rivers of Siak and Rakan were placed under his Shahbandars, and after 1669 he became ruler of Indragiri, another source whence pepper from Minangkabau was exported. From Pahang and these Sumatran fiefs as well as the islands of Riau archipelago and even Malacca's hinterland, Klang and Sungai Ujong, there came to his capital on the Johor river tin and pepper and less important commodities such as lignum-aloes, ivory, camphor, copra, pottery, resin, which were sold to the Dutch and, in defiance of Dutch injunctions, to Gujeratis, to Chinese, to Portuguese and even to stray Englishmen. At that same Johor capital the Chinese in want of tin and pepper bartered gold-thread, rough porcelain, iron pans, tea and tobacco, while not only the Dutch but Malacca Chinese, Indians, Portuguese and English imported cloth from Surat and Coromandel. On most of these imports and exports the Sultan enjoyed customs duties and port dues.

Then the first of those Johor Laksamanas, chosen by destiny to be the instruments of their country's ruin, caused war between Johor and her ally Jambi. The daughter of this feudal lord of Bentan married the Johor Sultan's heir, which marriage caused that heir's engagement to a daughter of the Pangeran of Jambi to be deferred until to-morrow and to-morrow and broken promises led to raids and sea-fights between the two countries that lasted thirteen years. In 1673 Jambi surprised Johor's fief, Bengkalis, and then sacked Johor's capital Batu Sawar, taking four tons of gold and 2,500 prisoners and driving Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah an exile to Pahang, where three years later he died at the age of ninety. This blow cost Johor far more than the loss of a capital, a loss she had often suffered without irreparable harm. This time, by the will of Allah, defeat was to bring her into relations with Minangkabaus and Bugis, vigorous interlopers fated between them to end the empire of Johor. Ibrahim, successor to the aged Sultan, in order to finish the Jambi war, called to his aid Daing Mangika, a Bugis mercenary. And the Minangkabau population of Siak, like their brothers of Klang and Sungai Ujong contemptuous of an overlord conquered by a Sumatran State as petty as their own, elected for ruler a prince of Minangkabau blood. When in 1685

Sultan Ibrahim died, poisoned according to rumour by three of his wives, he left the Johor stage to his heir a minor and a pervert, to that heir's father-in-law the powerful intriguing Laksamana and to Bugis and Minangkabaus quick as vultures to use for their own ends a quarrel beside the death-bed of an empire.

This old Laksamana, Paduka Raja, who had caused and after long years won the Jambi war, had even before Ibrahim's death drawn all authority into his hands and no longer paid respect to his royal master. Now at Riau, which under his influence Ibrahim had made Johor's capital, he became Regent and arrogated to himself such power, that in 1688 he had to flee from the wrath of his fellow-chiefs to Trengganu, where he died. Of this Regency with its ambitions and disturbances that hindered Johor from holding down the contumacious Minangkabaus of Siak, the Dutch Company was not slow to take advantage. In 1685 it contracted with the Regent one abortive treaty, designed to secure a monopoly of Siak's newly discovered tin, but the Regent a wily diplomat contrived to repudiate it. In 1688 it exacted another futile treaty from Johor's new Bendahara or prime minister, Tun Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid, who had just brought his princely charge to Kota Tinggi away from the disturbed atmosphere of Riau. The Dutch were to enjoy a monopoly and toll-free trade in the kingdom of Johor. No Hindus or Moors were to be allowed to settle in Johor territory and their goods were to be heavily taxed. The Dutch were to have a monopoly of Siak tin, until Mahmud the young Sultan of Johor should come of age. Mahmud was indeed to come of age and then a few years later to expiate his sadism at the hands of a petty Malay chief, Megat Sri Rama, in revenge for the foul murder of that chief's wife. Never a day passed when this mad prince did not kill some wretch with his own hands. Once the English trader Captain Alexander Hamilton gave him a brace of screw-barrelled pistols, and the next time the madman went abroad "he tried, on a poor Fellow in the Street, how far they could carry a Ball into his Flesh, and shot him through the Shoulder." Malay chroniclers suppose that he had a fairy wife, a genie who made him averse from all mortal women. When his mother introduced a Delilah to his palace, he called the guard and made them break her arms

for venturing to touch his person. The chiefs decided to rid the country of the royal lunatic and, accordingly, one morning in August 1699, as Mahmud was being carried in the old style on a follower's shoulders over the muddy approach to the Kota Tinggi mosque, Megat Sri Rama smote "the Beast" with a lance, so that he died. So (except for its Perak branch) perished the last of the Malacca royal line. Dying, Mahmud hurled a creese at his assailant, wounding him, some say, to the death, while according to others he lived four years in agony, grass growing in the wound on his foot. Megat Sri Rama lies buried at Kota Tinggi in the burial-ground of the Laksamanas and even to this day no member of the Laksamana family dare visit Kota Tinggi for fear of the vengeful ghost of Sultan Mahmud. Were it not for the evidence of English travellers, one might wonder if Mahmud's infamy were not the invention of Malay chroniclers bent on excusing the murder of their ruler at the instigation of his own mother's kinsmen.

Fig. 18. *Coin of a Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil of Johor.*

Whether or not the Laksamana hoped to fill the vacant throne, choice fell on the prime minister, the Bendahara Sri Maharaja 'Abdu'l-Jalil, son of the Bendahara Sri Maharaja Tun Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid. Habib was a common Malay synonym for Sayid, and it seems likely that only on the distaff side was the new ruler descended from the great Bendaharas of old Malacca, and on the spear side from a Hashimite Sayid who married a daughter of the well-known Bendahara Sekudai. Captain Alexander Hamilton describes him as "a Prince of great Moderation and Justice, and governed well for the eight or nine years that he held the Reins of Government in his own Hands." In 1703 he made Hamilton "a Present of the Island of *Sincapure,* but I told him it could be of no use to a private Person, tho' a proper Place for a Company to settle a Colony on, lying in the Center of Trade." Just before

this visit by Hamilton, Mr. Vaughan and four other Englishmen had been brought to the Johor capital as shipwrecked castaways and were invited by the king to "slarn" that is to accept Islam, but "they all agreed rather to die." However as they pleased the Sultan and his court by singing English songs, dancing and tumbling and doing conjuring tricks, they were given a lodging, rice and gold coins to buy fish and they found it hard to get leave to pass on to Malacca. They saw the Bendahara King sit in state in his hall of audience, "the pillars of which were covered with cotton cloth of all colours and roof hung with as great variety of very rich silks. At the upper end of the hall the King was seated in a small raised square, hung round with very fine silk curtains decently furled, so as he might be seen. The House was round beset with a great number of wax-candles, and for a farther augmentation of the Solemnity, all his Musick was placed in another house not far distant where they continually play'd during the time the King was exposed to public view.... Having ended their devotions, Clergy and Laity made a solemn and regular procession with Musick before them to the Palace, where being arriv'd, all was ended with the noise of Musick and firing of guns, but all with so great a silence of the natives, as was admirable and quite contrary to the practice of Europeans on such occasions." About 600 Chinese armed with swords and targets "march'd with China plays" and then fenced. The old ceremony that had for centuries hedged Malay kingship, and still the old misrule! One

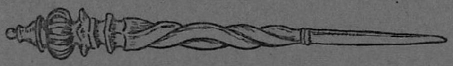


Fig. 19. Bronze article from the Johor river.

day the King's son wounded one of his creditors who "repaid the wound in the same Coin." Hundreds of men were under arms before they dared to spear the sacrilegious creditor. Another day a Malay and a Bugis "fell out in their play for a woman": the Bugis stabbed the Malay and then armed and with six or seven of his countrymen, with their long hair untied, went to the palace and were granted pardon. Vaughan saw a man creesed at 2 a.m., the hour of the full moon, and his wife thrown into the river with

a stone round her neck, because in a nightmare due to sickness the Bendahara had dreamt the unhappy couple were trying to strangle him!

Family feuds drove Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil to religion and he left politics to his younger brother the Raja Muda, whose tyranny and greed caused a revolution. Was the Laksamana, jealous of the new Bendahara royalty, again at the bottom of the rising? Was there a rising at all or was it merely the family quarrels of *parvenu* royalty that brought to Johor Lama the Minangkabau ruler of Siak, Raja Kechil, who was rumoured (against all evidence) to be the posthumous child of the lunatic Sultan Mahmud by a daughter of the Laksamana? The Cellates or sea-tribes, who were subject to the Laksamana, were bribed not to warn the Johor capital of the advent of the Siak fleet which actually surprised the Raja Muda at a game of chess. The guns of the fort were filled with water and would not go off. Seeing that all was lost, the Raja Muda ran amuck killing many of his children and concubines and a wife famous for her beauty and her golden loom. Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil fled upriver to Kota Tinggi, tendered submission to the invader and was given his old office of Bendahara or prime minister. Raja Kechil then usurped the Johor throne, adopted the style of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Rahmat Shah and proceeded in the traditional Malay fashion to marry a daughter of the ruler he had deposed. Chroniclers aver that betrothed to an elder daughter, Tengku Tengah, he broke off the engagement to marry her younger sister, Tengku Kamariah, whom he had seen at a feast. Tengku Tengah was not the only person disappointed by the headlong warrior. In Sumatra he had promised a Bugis chief, Daing Parani, the office of Yam-tuan Muda of Johor if he would help him take that country, and then while the Bugis had gone to Selangor to collect forces, Raja Kechil had taken it alone. Daing Parani followed to Johor to press his claim, where Tengku Tengah flung an earring into his lap and offered her hand too if he would avenge her. So runs the Bugis romance and that it is no more than romance is attested by the many conflicting versions of this love story. What is certain is that the deposed Bendahara Sultan intrigued with the Bugis in the hope of ousting the Minangkabau

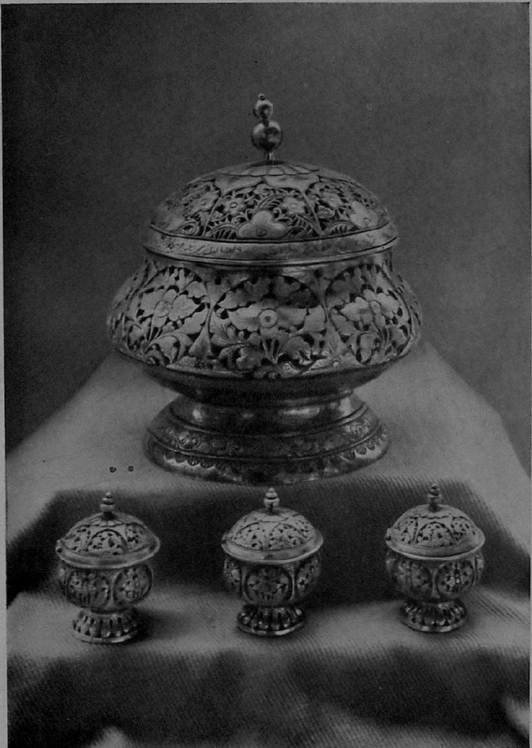
usurper: the attempt failed, so that he had to flee to Pahang, where at prayer in his ship at the estuary he was cut down by an emissary of Raja Kechil. That was in 1718.

For four years Raja Kechil ruled Johor from Riau, which henceforth was to be the centre of the old empire until its final disruption. Then in a two days' battle Daing Parani's chain-clad Bugis with muskets and blunderbusses defeated the swords and cannons of Raja Kechil and drove him to Lingga. Once he retook Riau but decoyed to help Linggi against a Bugis feint from Selangor he lost Riau again for ever in spite of the many raids he led for its recovery. In October 1722 the Bugis established as king of Johor and Pahang Sulaiman Badr al-'alam Shah son of Bendahara Sri Maharaja Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil who had been killed on his praying-mat at Kuala Pahang. The new Sultan made Daing Marewah (eldest brother of Parani) Yamtuan Muda or Underking of Riau and had to consent to a holocaust of his female relations in political marriage, not one of them being left unwedded by the Bugis for the advances of any other adventurers. From now onwards the Malay Sultan of the Johor empire was a sacred puppet or, as the Bugis frankly described it, in the position of a woman subject to the will of her husband, the Underking, and only getting such an allowance as that husband chose to give her.

iii.

BUGIS ASCENDANCY.

Macassar came into history in the first half of the sixteenth century as a port of call for Javanese and for Malays from Johor and Patani on their way to the Moluccas for spices; in the latter half of that century these sea-faring traders were joined at Macassar by the Portuguese and by the Chinese, resentful of Portuguese exactions at Malacca. As early as 1603 Moors from Malacca had converted Macassar to Islam. Not yet, however, had the Bugis ventured far afield, though the freedom of their port caused them to flourish, especially after the raids of the Achinese fleet and the policing of the Dutch fleet had made the straits of Malacca unsafe. To Macassar came ships from Borneo, Java, Bali, Solo, Timor, Amboyna and the Moluccas. There too Portuguese vessels



Betel set of Tengku Kamariah binti Sri Maharaja Sultan ' Abdul'l-Jalil, dated 25—31 August, 1717, Riau.

wintered safely on their way from China. As Dutch attacks on Portuguese vessels became more frequent, the Portuguese sometimes hired Bugis ships and manned them with Portuguese steersmen. After 1625 English and Danes also frequented Macassar. Armed with weapons bought from the Portuguese, the Bugis now conquered Bima in order to command a rice supply for their foreign clients and before the end of the seventeenth century Bugis sea-rovers had begun to descend on the coasts of Java, Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. The Dutch *Dagh-Register* proves that by 1681 there were large Bugis settlements on the Klang and Selangor estuaries, and in 1700 the To' Engku Klang, relative of the

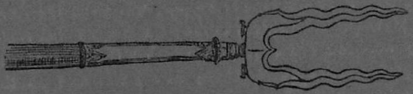


Fig. 20. Spear of office of To' Engku Klang, given by an emperor of Johor.

Bendahara-Sultan of Johor, gave a seal of authority to a Bugis Yamtuan on the Selangor river. (Pl. XVIII). The Bugis famous in Malaya's history for the first half of the eighteenth century were Daing Parani and his four brothers, sons of Upu Tenribong Daing Rilaka, descendant of a queen of Luwu in south Celebes: Daing Parani is said to have killed a Macassar prince for an intrigue with a concubine of the Raja of Boni, after which Daing Rilaka and his five sons left Celebes to win fame and fortune in Borneo, the Riau archipelago and the Malay Peninsula. When in 1722 the five brothers got one of themselves appointed Underking of the Johor empire at its capital Riau, they transferred the centre of Bugis influence away from Selangor to that island, though so important a Bugis settlement was Selangor that already it also had a Yamtuan or king, whose daughter married Daing Parani. From the vantage point of Riau the Bugis chiefs established their influence not only over the old kingdom of Johor but in the rich tin countries of Kedah and Perak, leaving to the Malays only the remote and less wealthy states of Pahang and Trengganu.

Moreover it was one of the five Bugis brothers who introduced the planting of gambir at Riau and so started a new form of commercial agriculture.

Soon after the Bugis were established at Riau, the eldest son of a deceased Sultan of Kedah invited the five brothers to assist him hold the throne against his younger brother, promising to pay 15 *bahara* of dollars for their help. The five brothers accepted the offer, made sure of the loyalty of Bugis then living in Kedah, installed their client as Sultan and received 3 *bahara* of dollars cash down: Daing Parani married a sister of the new Sultan. Then in 1724 the Minangkabau, Raja Kechil, was invited to Kedah to oust the nominee of his Bugis enemies and instal that nominee's younger brother on the throne: he, too, was given the hand of a Kedah princess. With drums beating the Bugis sailed from Riau in sixty war-boats and started a campaign that lasted two years and ruined Kedah's trade. Daing Parani was shot on the roof of his cabin but the Bugis won and drove Raja Kechil back to Siak.

The Kedah campaign had repercussions in Perak and Selangor. Minangkabau warriors and Kedah rajas usurped high Perak offices until they were driven out by a Bugis invasion across the Selangor frontier, led by Daing Merewah, the Underking from Riau. Selangor was then raided by Siak fleets under a son of Raja Kechil and under a renegade Bugis, Daing Matekko, relative but enemy of the five famous brothers. In 1740 one of the brothers, Daing Chelak, second Underking of the Johor empire, accompanied by Sultan Sulaiman whose fief Selangor was a part of that empire. led forces against these raiders and two years later headed a second invasion into Perak to combat Minangkabau interference from Kedah and the intrigues of Daing Matekko.

In 1745 Daing Chelak the Underking died, leaving two famous sons, Raja Haji who fell fighting the Dutch in Malacca and Raja Lumu who (probably about 1742) was created first Sultan of Selangor. It was the Selangor chiefs who elected as his successor Daing Kemboja, and for two years that nobleman did not condescend to go to Riau for formal installation by his Malay overlord, Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-'alam Shah. Bugis ascendancy now excited

not only Malay jealousy but the fears of the Dutch who saw their attempts at a monopoly of the tin of the Johor empire and the northern Malay States frustrated and their commerce with these states invaded by Bugis traders and upset by Bugis fighting. When in 1745 Governor-General Gustraaf Willem Baron van Imhoff ordered the rebuilding of the Dutch fort at the Dindings, it was laid down that in the garrison there were to be no Bugis. And that same eventful year Sultan Sulaiman Badr al-'alam Shah made the gesture of ceding Siak to the Dutch in return for their help against his enemies, further undertaking that, when he could exercise "his former authority over Selangor, Klang and Linggi" he would observe all Johor's old treaties with the Dutch East India Company or, in other words, give them a monopoly of the tin trade.

This treaty of 1745 was a gesture made by the Malay Sultan of Johor in order to secure Dutch help not only against the Bugis but for Sulaiman's nephew Raja Muhammad, son of Tengku Kamariah, the wife Raja Kechil loved so well that years ago he broke troth with her elder sister and now slept a crazy dotard beside her grave. Raja Kechil wanted to leave his throne of Siak to Raja Muhammad but this was opposed by Raja 'Alam, his son by another wife. After helping Sultan Sulaiman to drive Raja 'Alam from Siantan to Borneo, Daing Kemboja gave the exile his own sister in marriage and alienated Raja Muhammad from his uncle Sultan Sulaiman by spreading the report that that wicked man only wanted to win Siak for the Dutch! After this manoeuvre Daing Kemboja, Underking though he was, found it impossible to endure the attitude of the Malay party at Riau, more especially of Sultan Mansur of Trengganu, cousin of Sulaiman Badr al-'alam Shah and tireless opponent of Bugis ambitions. He therefore removed with the leading Bugis and the biggest guns to Linggi. In 1753 Raja 'Alam ousted his brother, seized the throne of Siak and commenced commercial war on the Dutch. In 1755 the Dutch drove Raja 'Alam out of Siak and made a fresh treaty with Sultan Sulaiman. The Company agreed to take any opportunity of recovering for the Sultan of Johor the possessions he had lost to the Bugis. Siak was to be ruled by a Regent who should study the Company's interests. The Company and Sultan Sulaiman were

to have a monopoly for the sale of cloth in Siak. The Company was to have a monopoly of the purchase of tin in Selangor, Klang and Linggi, and its ships were to be free of toll everywhere in the kingdom of Johor, while into that kingdom no other Europeans were to be admitted without the Company's pass.

These Siak wars had turned the Bugis into open enemies of the Dutch Company, which had usurped the place of the Bugis "husband" and was promising the Malay "wife," Sultan Sulaiman, alimony to which the Underking took the strongest exception. Daing Kemboja helped Raja 'Alam to return to Sumatra and in April 1756 Bugis were burning houses in Malacca. Dutch and Trengganu fleets attacked Linggi and drove the Bugis to abandon their ships. But by October Malacca territory was being wasted by Daing Kemboja and his Selangor and Rembau allies, and before the end of the year, the Dutch were driven out of Klebang, a suburb of Malacca. It was months before the Bugis were worsted. Sultan Sulaiman paid his bill and at the same time tried to get the better of his insubordinate Bugis subjects by surrendering Rembau and Linggi to the Dutch. A fortnight later on 1 January 1758 at Fort Filipina, Linggi, (a fort named after the daughter of the contemporary Dutch Governor-General Jacob Mosel) the three Bugis leaders, Daing Kemboja of Linggi, Raja Tua of Klang and Raja 'Adil of Rembau, signed a treaty promising that the Company's friends, in particular the Sultan of Johor, should always be their friends and that they would sell their tin only to the Company. The Dutch had got signed agreements for a tin monopoly from both parties, but otherwise the victory was so hollow that Sultan Sulaiman asked for twenty-five Dutch soldiers to garrison Riau against the Bugis and pointed out that he had not yet regained the thrones of Siak and Selangor.

Sultan Sulaiman was getting now to be an old "wife" and timorous. Aware of this the Bugis "husband," Daing Kemboja, took a bold course to reassert himself in his house of Riau. He sent his vigorous nephew, the afterwards famous Raja Haji, who sailing past the muzzles of the Malay guns dropped anchor opposite the palace of Sultan Sulaiman and demanded that his uncle should be invited back to Riau as the duly elected rightful Underking of the empire of Johor. Sultan Mansur of Trengganu, leader of the Malay party, was away. Sultan Sulaiman yielded. That was in

1759. Next year he died, leaving the empire a thing of shreds and tatters. Selangor and Rembau were gone; the small inland states were held by Minangkabaus and dominated by Bugis; upriver Pahang was under Minangkabau chiefs; Johor was a no-man's land. Siak also was to be lost; for its ruler Sultan Muhammad having before his death in 1759 massacred the Dutch garrison, the Dutch now made friends with his whilom rival Raja 'Alam. Finally Riau itself, the capital of all that was left of the Johor empire, was to be the washpot of the Bugis, until Bugis pride forced the Dutch to capture it. Sultan Sulaiman's successor 'Abdu'l-Jalil Mu'azzam Shah died in Selangor, perhaps from poison, while engaged on the suicidal errand of carrying out his father's promise and inviting Daing Kemboja to return to Riau. Daing Kemboja did return to Riau with forty-five war-boats and the corpse of 'Abdu'l-Jalil Mu'azzam Shah and proclaimed himself guardian of Sultan Ahmad Riayat Shah, the young son of the deceased. This boy soon died, and though the Malays pressed now for an adult brother of Sultan Sulaiman for the throne, the Bugis overawed them and carried the election of Mahmud, Sulaiman's infant grandson, born in 1760. From now till his death in 1777 Daing Kemboja lived as Underking at Riau, *de facto* ruler of the Johor empire, on good terms with the Dutch but grumbling at restrictions on commerce, and trading with the English openly and to his great profit in tin, opium and cloth. The Dutch claim for the cost of the Linggi war of 1756 he is said to have defrayed out of opium. For his assistant he had the redoubtable Raja Haji with the title of To' Klana.

This Raja Haji was a renowned Bugis fighter whom every ruler wanted on his side. He fought for the rulers of Jambi and Indragiri and in the fashion of the time was given their daughters

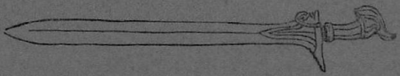


Fig. 21. Bugis sword.

in marriage. As Daing Kemboja was now on friendly terms with the Dutch, Raja Haji turned north of the Johor empire to extend the

influence of his sword, that short effective Bugis sword of Roman shape, the *sundang*. He took the Selangor Sultan, Salahu'd-din, his brother, up the Perak river, to the dismay of the Dutch anchoring a flotilla of twenty war-boats above their fort: according to local chronicles, the august presence of Sultan Mahmud of Perak drove evil thoughts out of the head of Raja Haji, but Raja Haji demanded the hand of the Perak ruler's niece for Salahu'd-din and proposed that the marriage should take place before his flotilla left the river! Then he sailed on to Kedah to demand the payment of the 12 *bahara* of silver still owing for Bugis help rendered by Daing Parani in 1724! The Kedah Sultan refused and was driven out of Alor Star. The Malays were poor fighters, compared even with the Bugis. In 1772, the Honourable Edward Monckton, envoy of the East India Company, wrote to India, that "the king of Quedah and all the Malay kings have got guns enough to drive all the Europeans out of India if they knew how to make use of them." To-day it has been forgotten how in the first negotiations between Kedah and the British for a settlement, it was not the Siamese but the Bugis from Selangor whom the Kedah ruler feared and hated. Writing from Kedah in 1771, Francis Light informed his Madras firm that "the King of Queda has granted to you the seaport of Queda with a fort lying near it to be kept by you, in consideration that you will promise to assist him against the people of Salengore." When the Sultan discovered that the Company's support did not include aid against Selangor, he dismissed Monckton as "a stuttering boy" and declared that "the King of Siam had strictly forbidden him to let any Europeans settle in his kingdom." The decay of the Dutch Company's power enabled the Bugis to fight for a share of the revenue Kedah derived from duty on opium, goods from Bengal and Surat, pepper from Sumatra, and tin, wax, timber and rattans.

After his victorious campaign in Kedah, Raja Haji sailed off to Borneo to enlist under the Sultan of Pontianak. There he heard of the death of Daing Kemboja and immediately left for Pahang where he got the Malay Bendahara of the Johor empire to create him, in accordance with custom, its Underking. Then he passed on to Riau, the traditional seat of the Bugis Underking,

and forced the resignation of Raja 'Ali, son of Daing Kemboja, whom the Dutch had already recognised as his father's successor. However, with the Dutch Raja Haji lived on good terms until 1782, when they refused to give him any share in the money got from the capture at Riau of an East Indiaman carrying 1,154 chests of opium. Thereupon Raja Haji invoked the aid of Selangor and Rembau and started raids in the Malacca Straits. The Dutch sent thirteen ships and 1,504 men to capture Riau. Raja Haji took command of the defence and was paddled from vessel to vessel directing operations: if any of his crew ducked at passing shots, he hit him with a rattan. But the Dutch blockade was becoming effective when Batavia despatched a further force and gave supreme command to a Malacca civilian, Arnoldus Lemker. This commander's ship blew up and the siege was raised. Various excuses were made for the retirement: the civil command, the merchant fleet, bad shells and poor equipment, lack of fresh food and dysentery.

Raja Haji did not delay. Dropping his nominal overlord, Sultan Mahmud, at Muar, he landed at Teluk Ketapang five miles south of Malacca, where until the end he amused his thousand warriors and their three hundred women with feasts and plays and dancing. Already Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor had sailed up the Linggi river, captured some Malacca Tamils resident at Rembau, collected Minangkabau fighters from Rembau and Pedas, and sailed along the Malacca coast reducing the whole country down to Tanjong Kling, seven miles north of Malacca. Nightly the Bugis attacked the outer batteries of Bunga Raya, Bandar Hilir and Bukit China, so that every one in Malacca stood to arms. But on 4 March 1784 a fleet of 6 ships, 326 guns and 2,130 men reached Batavia from Holland under Jacob Pieter van Braam, and on June 1 this fleet dropped anchor at Teluk Ketapang. Secretly on the night of 18 June van Braam landed 734 bayonets. At daybreak he opened fire with his big guns on the Bugis fleet and batteries. "At about 8 o'clock," the contemporary Malacca journal tells us, "it was seen from St. Paul's Hill that the ships with the landing party moved into Teluk Ketapang bay, and soon afterwards the heavy firing from the ships ceased. Then for more than half

an hour were heard continual volleys of musketry, an unbroken running fire, and a little after 9 o'clock one could see a thick smoke rising which lasted off and on the whole day. About 10 a.m. the flag-ship signalled that the landing had been successful." A Malay historian records "two or three men carrying yokes could not have borne away the shoes and hats of the dead Dutch soldiers," but discipline won the day. Their stockade surrounded, the Bugis charged, one of their chiefs sick and mounted on a pony which like his master was shot down. Raja Haji stood, a dagger in one hand, and a Muslim treatise *The Guide to Grace* in the other, an unpainted Delacroix. He was hit by a musket-ball or round shot while his followers were embracing his knees. Followed by some women, his body was carried away in a mat slung from a pole and was hidden in a thicket until identified from its shaven head and short teeth: it was brought under Dutch escort to Malacca and buried at the foot of St. Paul's Hill.

On 2 August 1784 van Braam's fleet conquered Selangor and drove Sultan Ibrahim a fugitive to Bernam and thence to Pahang. On 10 October the Dutch fleet was before Riau. van Braam attempted to induce Sultan Mahmud and the Malays to break with the Bugis but the Sultan was under duress and unable. The Dutchman then issued an ultimatum that all the Bugis must leave Riau and that in future there must be no Bugis Underking of the Johor empire. On 29 October the Bugis started a naval engagement but by dawn on 31 October they had fled. Sultan Mahmud thanked the Dutch for having expelled them. The Sultan, the Bendahara and the Temenggong now signed a treaty, acknowledging that the kingdom and port had become by right of war the property of the Dutch, which the Malays would hold as a fief under conditions. Riau was to have a Dutch garrison. The Company was to enjoy free trade everywhere in the kingdom of Johor and no other Europeans were to be admitted. Vessels from Johor and Pahang that passed Malacca had to call there for Dutch permits. Chinese and native craft might trade at Riau, provided they did not come from Celebes or Borneo or carry cloves or mace and provided they did not carry tin from Palembang or Bangka. All tin was to be sold to the Company at a fixed price. On the death of the Sultan, his successor had to be one of the Johor royal

family approved by the Governor of Malacca. A garrison of 254 men, including 38 European officers and gunners, was left to protect Riau against the Bugis and the English. The booty taken was sold at Batavia for $60,670 and distributed among the crews. On 19 June 1785 David Ruhdé took up his abode in a palm-mat house at Riau as its first Resident, but administration still remained in the incompetent hands of Sultan Mahmud and his Malay chiefs.

In that same year 1785 the Bugis Sultan Ibrahim, aided by the Malay Bendahara at Pahang, drove the Dutch out of Selangor and asked Captain Light, of Penang, for authority to hoist the British flag, even addressing a request to the Governor-General of Bengal to found a British settlement in his country. "In July last," Light wrote to the Governor-General, "the King of Salengore having collected about 2,000 Pahangs, crossed over to Salengore, and in the night sent a few desperadoes to massacre the Dutch. They got into the Fort, and wounded one of the Sentinels and the Chief, but the garrison taking alarm killed eight of the Buggese, dispersed the rest, and in the morning the Dutch, being afraid of another attack, embarked in their vessels and fled to Malacca, leaving all their Stores, Provisions and Ammunition undestroyed; the King took possession and still keeps it. The King of Salengore cannot remain in his present situation, his people are kept together by hopes of assistance from the English, which he expects from the preference our Merchants always received from him and his Father above any other nation. I had scarcely arrived when I received intelligence that the Dutch Fleet consisting of three large Ships and fourteen sail of Prows and Sloops, were before Salengore. The King, unable to procure provision or to support himself longer without assistance, entered into a Treaty with the Dutch. It is said, they obliged him to swear on the Koran he would send all the tin to Malacca and be a friend of the Dutch. They took away all the guns which they had lost there and have now sent for him to Malacca." The Dutch blockade of Selangor lasted over a year. Meanwhile unrecognized by Dutch and Malays, Daing Kemboja's successor, Raja 'Ali the Bugis-made Underking was seeking, though in vain, unmolested passage through Rembau in order to attack Malacca. Only in Riau were the Bugis and the Malays parted.

Summoned to Malacca, Sultan Mahmud had to look for help to the east and turned to Borneo, entreating the ruler of Tempasok to send Ilanuns to rid Riau of the Dutch. On 7 February 1797 he was browbeaten into signing a convention. He had to hand over the administration of Riau to the Dutch East India Company, receiving for the first three years and perhaps longer one-third of the revenue for himself and his chiefs. Except in case of great urgency or of his own household affairs, all was to be done in consultation with the Dutch Resident. Foreigners, convicted on a capital charge, were to be sent to Malacca; important Chinese cases and disputes between strangers and the inhabitants of Riau were reserved for the Resident; death sentences even on Malays and Bugis required his sanction. Pahang was to admit no Chinese or other junks to its ports but to direct them to the Dutch customs-station at Riau. The Sultan was allowed no private monopoly.

On 2 May 1787 a fleet was descried heading for Riau. Sultan Mahmud affecting surprise reported that it was a fleet under some Bornean prince, a Solok fleet blown off its course in a storm and in need of provisions. The Malays supplied it with water, rice and two pilots. On the night of the tenth the Riau garrison heard the noise of many voices on the water. On 13 May owing to the remissness of the Sultan's men the Ilanuns entered the inner bay and plundered and burnt houses outside the fort. The Chinese rallied to the Dutch but the garrison was small. A dark night and the Ilanuns' want of small vessels enabled the Resident, the Dutch officers and part of the garrison to escape to Malacca with nothing saved but the Company's cash. It was good fun to drive the Dutch from Riau, but after their prank the Malay chiefs had to skedaddle, Sultan Mahmud to Lingga, the Bendahara to Pahang, others to Bulang. The life of a hunted wanderer was neither pleasant nor profitable for Mahmud. What was the next move? Three courses were open to him and he tried them all. He got his grand-uncle, Sultan Mansur of Trengganu, and Sultan Ibrahim of Selangor to endeavour to make peace between him and the Dutch, who would not listen to them. He wrote to Captain Light at Penang, telling him of the Ilanun capture of Riau and inviting English help, which was not forthcoming. He formed a

coalition of Trengganu, Kedah, Rembau, Siak, Solok, Lingga, Johor, Indragiri and Siantan to drive both English and Dutch off Malayan seas, but the coalition effected nothing beyond a short and futile siege of the Dindings and an ineffectual landing on the coast of Penang.

Meanwhile the Dutch had soon re-established themselves at Riau: to have abandoned it would have meant the ruin of Malacca, more particularly after the opening of Penang as a free port by the British. But though the Dutch now declared Riau a free port, all the Malays had scattered, most of them becoming pirates; the Ilanuns had gone home and the Bugis had migrated to Selangor, Siantan and Borneo, so that Riau had become a village of Chinese gambir planters with an expensive Dutch garrison. Batavia accepted Malacca's view that that sacred lodestone of empire, Sultan Mahmud, must be brought back. The Underking, Raja 'Ali, had been suffered to live at Muar on condition that he supported the Dutch commercial treaty with his brother-in-law the Sultan of Selangor, and finally he was allowed to go to Riau on condition that he would effect the return of Sultan Mahmud. But the big Malay chiefs, resentful of past Bugis domination, made Sultan Mahmud offer the Company $60,000 if it would put him in full possession of Riau. Pirates under Mahmud's protection infested the seas. It was of the utmost importance to Dutch commerce that the wanderer should settle down. In 1795 Batavia accepted the royal offer. As it happened, the English had now occupied Malacca and it was they who removed the Dutch Resident and garrison from Riau and handed the island back to Sultan Mahmud. Was it only the island? The question was hotly debated after Raffles had grabbed Singapore. Apparently the true version is that which was accepted by Governor Fullerton. When the Dutch handed Malacca to the English, they declared it was not only Riau but Johor and Pahang, that Batavia had restored to the Malays, but when in 1818 they reoccupied Malacca, they declared that only Riau had been restored and that Johor and Pahang had since 1784 remained dependencies of Malacca. On each occasion the Dutch were trying to keep as much of the Johor empire as they could out of English hands.

The coming of the English restored the Bugis to power in the doomed empire of Johor, the ban against their immigration being removed. Frequently Sultan Mahmud got guns and munitions from the Dutch under the pretext of combating Ilanun pirates but actually to resist the Bugis Underking and his followers. After the removal of the Bugis in 1784, Riau had been in the possession of the Malays under Engku Muda, grandson of a mad Temenggong 'Abbas (brother of Sultan Sulaiman) and only surviving son of the mad Temenggong Paduka Raja 'Abdu'l-Jamal who after spearing his nephew, the Bendahara's son, in Pahang had returned to Riau and blown up himself and his two older boys, Daing Kechil and Daing Chelak, by taking a light into the hold of a Chinese junk he had pirated on the voyage. 'Abdu'l-Jamal's youngest son, Engku Muda, never took the title of Temenggong because with the Dutch abolition of Bugis officers of State he arrogated to himself, though a Malay, the title of Underking, a title his timid relative the Sultan never dared to confer. On the coming of the English, the Bugis claimant Raja 'Ali drove his Malay rival to Bulang, whereupon in 1801 Engku Muda blockaded Riau with a fleet of eighty boats, half of them Ilanun. Neither the Bendahara nor Sultan Mahmud could settle the quarrel and Raja 'Ali invoked the aid of the English at Malacca. At last in 1803 the Sultan came from his retreat at Lingga, installed Raja 'Ali as Underking and gave him his own younger son Tengku 'Abdu'r-Rahman to bring up: as Engku Muda still refused the title of Temenggong, it was given in 1806 to his nephew Daing (or Engku) 'Abdu'r-Rahman, son of Daing Kechil who had been blown up, while the Sultan gave his own elder son Tengku Husain to Engku Muda to bring up and marry to his daughter Raja Bulang. It was Temenggong

Fig. 22. Seal of Temenggong Sri Maharaja 'Abdu'r-Rahman, 1806 *A.D.*

Sri Maharaja 'Abdu'r-Rahman and Tengku Husain, created by Raffles a Sultan, who were to sell Singapore to the English: Tengku 'Abdu'r-Rahman was to be created by the Dutch the Sultan of the Johor empire at Riau.

While the feud between Raja 'Ali and Engku Muda was in progress, Sultan Ibrahim had come from Selangor to throw his weight on the side of his Bugis relative. At this juncture, unfortunately for their country, the Perak chiefs, deeming that the Malays were still dominant at Riau, sent envoys to invite Sultan Mahmud to accept Perak's throne. In dudgeon Sultan Ibrahim led his Bugis forces to demand why Perak had broken the agreement which was like one coverlet for them both, that night in Perak should be night in Selangor, sickness in Perak be sickness in Selangor and the demise of a ruler of either State be announced to the other State. Perak was worsted and from 1804 to 1806 was subject to Sultan Ibrahim, who continued to fish in the troubled waters of the Perak river for the next two decades, assisting its rulers against Siamese aggression, demanding half the revenue from its tin and only kept south of the Bernam by the British acquisition of Penang.

The Bugis were good fighters and, as Penang's founder Francis Light wrote, "the best merchants among the eastern islands" but outside Selangor politically they were fated not to excel; in Riau the Dutch thwarted their ambitions, in Perak and Kedah the Siamese and the British (whose settlement at Penang in 1786 saw the beginning of British influence in Malaya), while in the country behind Malacca they failed to make headway against Minangkabau agriculturists who arriving there probably before themselves took advantage of Daing Kemboja's retirement to Riau in 1761 to elect a ruler of their own.

iv.

THE MINANGKABAU SECESSION.

As we have seen, there were Minangkabaus at the back of Malacca as early as the fifteenth century; in the Portuguese period (still Hindus, according to d'Albuquerque) they increased and in the Dutch period they waxed fat and kicked. Naning the Dutch

took over as a fief from the Portuguese. The rest of those early settlements, Rembau, Sungai Ujong, Klang, remained fiefs of the prime ministers of Johor, as they had been fiefs of those ministers' ancestors in the days of the Malacca Sultanate. In 1642 the Sultan of Johor was ordering Rembau and Klang to exchange Christian slaves for traders captured by the Dutch on the Penajis river. Next year His Highness was writing to his Shahbandar at Sungai Ujong, holder of an office that would hardly have been created in Portuguese times and must have dated back to that Malay rule in Malacca which Portugal ended in 1511. It was by the Sultan's command that in 1644 his Bendahara Sekudai went from Johor to Rembau to curb his vassals there after they had massacred Captain Forsenburgh and Menie and driven Governor van Vliet to abandon his money-box. The Bendahara passed on to Pahang, which then belonged to Johor, and there too he found Minangkabaus: according to Pahang chronicles, Jelai already had a chief, Maharaja Purba, the creation of a Pahang Sultan at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1673 Jambi sacked Johor Lama and drove its ruler to Pahang, whence he removed to Riau and spent years retaliating. Naning, Rembau, Sungai Ujong and Klang ceased temporarily to render obeisance to the Johor suzerain and chose the "impostor" Raja Ibrahim for their king; but war ensued with the Dutch and in 1679 the invulnerable saint, Raja Ibrahim, was murdered by a Bugis slave. A few years later, the Dutch were again requesting Johor to instruct his fiefs, Rembau, Tampin, Sungai Ujong, Klang and Selangor to observe their old friendship with Malacca. The Bugis were already winning power and in 1700 the To' Engku Klang, a relative, of the first Bendahara Sultan of Johor, gave a seal of authority to a Bugis Yamtuan of Selangor. In 1703 at the request of the same pious Sultan, 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah, the Dutch appointed Sri Maharaja Juara Megat Penghulu of Naning in place of the old and infirm Raja Merah. Juara Megat had tracked in the Muar jungle the abductor of one of the Sultan's concubines, killed him and taken the wretched woman to Malacca. Besides his testimonial the pious Sultan bestowed on Juara Megat twelve slaves, a sword called the Sated Serpent, a silk coat, a genealogical tree and a tract of Gemencheh territory: Juara Megat also received a seal from his Johor patron.

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Seal given by To' Engku of Lg to the first Yamtuan of Selangor (17[illegible] A. D.).

In 1707 the then ruler of Rembau got a title and seal "by the grace of the Bendahara Sri Maharaja," a brother of the same pious Sultan. These seals did not create new offices. The Minangkabaus of Naning and Rembau had always been tenants of the Bendaharas and now a Bendahara had become Sultan and was prepared to give seals and even insignia for services rendered.

But the pious Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah was supplanted and killed by Raja Kechil, and his son and lawful successor, Sulaiman Badr al-'alam Shah, was a Bugis puppet. By 1722 there was "a son of the Sultan of Minangkabau" at Rembau, ready to lead the tribes against the Bugis, but it was a forlorn hope, seeing that for half a century these energetic mercenaries and traders from Macassar were to be a new and powerful factor in the politics of Malacca's hinterland. When in 1756 Sulaiman Badr al-'alam Shah granted the Dutch a monopoly of tin in Selangor, Klang and Linggi, those districts were already in the strong hands of his domestic foes the Bugis: Selangor under Raja Lumu (Sultan Salahu'd-din), Klang under a Bugis Raja Tua and Linggi under Daing Kemboja. Next year, when the Sultan offered Rembau and Linggi to the Dutch if they would oust the Bugis, the Bugis countered by granting the Company a tin monopoly in Klang, Linggi and the nine shires of Rembau. The founder of the houses of the Yam-tuan Muda or Underkings of Tampin and Jelebu was a Bugis, Raja 'Adil. The Bugis invaded Sungai Ujong and changed the title of its territorial chief from Penghulu Mantri to Klana Putra, perhaps marrying into the territorial family or usurping its office. Then in 1760 the able and vigorous Bugis leader, Daing Kemboja, removed finally from Linggi to Riau there to take up his office as Underking of the Johor empire. This gave the Minangkabaus ease. In 1784 Raja Haji's attack on Malacca forced the Dutch to conquer Selangor and expel the Bugis from Riau. This made way for a loose coalition of the little Minangkabau States and the rise of a Minangkabau dynasty for that coalition.

After Raja Ibrahim of 1677, there were two other Minangkabau candidates for a throne, Raja Kasah and Raja Khatib, both of them too inexpert in matriarchal law to satisfy the exacting villagers! The last, Raja Khatib, got as far as marrying a daughter

of Naam, first Penghulu of Ulu Muar, but a Raja Melewar drove him out and executed Naam. After this victory over his rival, this Raja Melewar is said—probably by constitutional fiction—to have settled on the Penajis river until summoned to a throne by the four territorial chiefs in 1773. Who was Raja Melewar? and who were the four electors? Raja Melewar claimed, probably with reason, to be of the royal house of Minangkabau, reputed to have the bluest blood in the Malay world. This house, if any, can claim to be descended from the Sailendra rulers of Sri Vijaya and so to represent the world's oldest ruling family. It attained its zenith in the thirteenth century A.D. Its best known member, Aditiawarman (1340–75), once performed a fertility dance with his consort, as male and female manifestations of Shiva and Mahadewi, and he also belonged to a hideous demoniacal Tantric sect that professed to connect the worship of Shiva with the worship of Buddha. d'Albuquerque speaks of the Minangkabaus at Malacca as Hindu and the Sultans of Malacca termed the first immigrants Biduanda, a term they also applied to Chinese infidels and heathen aborigines. But Minangkabau became Muslim and in 1684 was ruled by a Sultan Ahmad Shah. Below him were three great chiefs, one of them the Makhdum (to whose house Penghulu Naam belonged) superintendent of the colonies behind Malacca and purveyor of their princes. Raja Melewar came by way of Siak, formerly the fief of Johor but now a Minangkabau colony soon to be ruled by Raja Kechil. He was offered or claimed the same terms as in the Sumatran home-land. For the royal house descent was to remain patrilineal while for all its subjects it was matrilineal. As at Pagar Ruyong (the Sumatran capital), the new prince was to own no land and levy no taxes but as a ruler he was to be given a palace, as master of magic to receive all perilous freaks (such as albinos) and as a hungry mortal to receive fixed tribute of rice and coconuts.

All tradition mentions the chiefs of Sungai Ujong, Rembau and Johol as three of Melewar's electors: about the fourth there is no unanimity. Probably there never were four electors at all. Possibly Raja Melewar got the blessing of a Dutch Governor at Malacca tired of Bugis fighting and the blessing of Naning which

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Minangkabau megaliths, Pengkalan Kempas.

as Malacca's fief could give only its blessing. He had the sense to go inland beyond the reach of Dutch interference. He left the river states Klang and Selangor to the Bugis though he won his way as a champion against them, but that he had any serious conflict with them seems doubtful considering the retirement of Daing Kemboja to Riau. Though Rembau (half Bugis) helped Raja Haji in 1784 in his foiled attack on Malacca, Raja Melewar took no part. Never again were the Bugis tolerated by the Dutch, and the year 1795, when the British took over Malacca and admitted the Bugis once more to Johor's capital at Riau, was the year of Raja Melewar's death.

Not merely had Raja Melewar the sense to avoid Dutch Malacca and the northern Bugis estuaries. He avoided also those once perquisites of the Sultans of Malacca and Johor, the tin-fields of Sungai Ujong administered by a Penghulu Mantri and the tin-fields of Jelebu administered by a chief with the ancient title of Mandulika. He set himself in rivalry with no powerful chief but won his way as the maker of small and harmless chieftains who should become his supporters. Segamat under an Orang Kaya Muda appointed by the Sultan of Johor was too near Johor influence to be safe. Pasir Besar also was away down the Muar river and in Johor territory and apparently had already been superseded in importance by Johol. Jelai was far away in Pahang and ruled as it is today by a Maharaja Purba, the creation of a Pahang Sultan early in the XVIIth century. A Raja Indra Segara, nominee of the Sultans of Pahang or Johor, ruled the contiguous tracts of Ulu Pahang, Serting and Jempul. Raja Melewar went to Sri Menanti, where his presence brought Johol and the little adjacent settlements, Ulu Muar, Terachi, Gunong Pasir, Jempul and Inas, to the forefront of local politics and attracted Minangkabaus back from Pahang over the pass Sultan Mahmud had crossed in his flight from the Portuguese in 1511. Beyond Johol and the five lesser adjacent States at the headwaters of the Muar Raja Melewar failed to consolidate his power, though Sungai Ujong, Rembau and Jelebu recognized him and never again turned to their old suzerain at Riau. What is now Negri Sembilan had seceded from the Johor empire for ever.

V.

THE END OF THE JOHOR EMPIRE.

Here conveniently, if not chronologically, may be related how an empire, that had outlived Portuguese conquest, the Dutch East India Company and Bugis penetration, came in the end to die almost of an accident, without a blow. The next suzerain over the states of the Malay Peninsula was to be Queen Victoria and the next chapters will tell of the growth of British power and influence.

When in 1795 Sultan Mahmud was restored to the throne of his ancestors, fate destined him to be the last emperor of Johor, Pahang, the Riau archipelago, the Carimons and Singapore. Dying in 1812 on Lingga, the small island whither he had retreated from Bugis Riau, he left the succession to his throne unsettled, an omission that was to provide the shadow of a legal excuse for the partition of his empire. He had married four wives, one the Engku Puan his second cousin and childless, two women of no birth but lawfully wedded, the last a Bugis lady Tengku Hamidah, daughter of the famous Raja Haji and sister of Raja Ja'far the Underking, who bore him only a daughter that lived an hour. The two commoner wives each bore him a son, one of them Tengku Husain, the other Tengku 'Abdu'r-Rahman, both lawful. Which had Mahmud intended for his heir? Tengku Husain, the elder, claimed that he alone had been adopted both by the Engku Puan and by Tengku Hamidah, his two royal step-mothers. When his father had sailed to Riau to settle the quarrel with Engku Muda, he as elder son and heir had been given a royal flag to fly but his younger brother only a red flag, and his father had pointed out to the chiefs the significance of those symbols. He claimed that his father had destined him for emperor and his brother only for the petty throne of Lingga. Tengku Hamidah supported Husain and refused to deliver the regalia to his brother. Moreover Husain was married to a sister of the Temenggong and to a daughter of the Bendahara, so that clearly Mahmud had planned to enable him as emperor to maintain the balance of power against the Bugis, marrying him to relatives of the two greatest Malay chiefs in the kingdom. But while Husain was away in Pahang

marrying the Bendahara's daughter, Sultan Mahmud died suddenly not without a rumour of poison, and Raja Ja'far the Bugis Underking got the younger brother, Tengku 'Abdu'r-Rahman, his *protegé* and creature, elevated to the throne of the empire. The Bendahara came with a fleet to Bulang to support Husain but both Bendahara and Temenggong were young men and shunned war with the able and energetic Underking. 'Abdu'r-Rahman remained Sultan, while his brother lived in penury.

Then in 1818, the British having meanwhile lost not only Malacca but Java by the Convention of London, August 13, 1814, Thomas Stamford Raffles returned from his house and his man-servants and his " splendid equipage " in Berners Street to administer dreary derelict Bencoolen." It was the only spot in the Malay Archipelago that was not now recognised as being within the Dutch sphere of influence, and it was useless and inconsiderate to try to persuade Malay rulers again within that sphere, to be faithful to engagements made with the English between 1795 and 1814. But Raffles tried and in the unscrupulous fashion of his time. On 5 July 1818 he wrote to Raja Ja'far the Underking at Riau saying how he had just returned from Europe and had got news that Batavia, contrary to treaty, was going to take Riau! His letter advised the Underking " not to receive any Dutch envoy, for as he was disposed to remain under the protection of the British flag, they could remain friends as before, rendering each other mutual help." On 19 August, a month before the retrocession of Malacca to the Dutch, Farquhar its English Resident visited Riau and adjured the Bugis Underking to resist any Dutch attack and send at once for English aid. The Underking must have recalled how it was the English who in 1795 had restored the Bugis to home and office at Riau; so gratefully accepting a rich present of guns and velvet, he consented to sign a treaty of commercial alliance, in virtue of powers granted him by Sultan 'Abdu'r-Rahman, the *roi faineant* of " Johor, Pahang and dependencies." British vessels and merchandise were to enjoy in the ports of Johor, Pahang, Lingga, Riau and elsewhere the privileges granted to the most favoured nations. The Sultan was not to grant a monopoly to any one or to renew any treaty obstructing British trade!

After that the Malays started to build forts in order to resist the threatened Dutch attack. The Dutch did not attack but in September Rear-Admiral J. C. Wolterbeek arrived from Malacca and got a treaty signed on behalf of the same *roi faineant* by the Underking and by the Temenggong of Johor. A Dutch Resident and a Dutch garrison were to be stationed at Riau—and in November arrived. Riau and Lingga were to be free ports but *all other harbours in the Sultan's kingdom were to be free only to Dutch and local vessels.* There was to be mutual rendition of runaway slaves. The Underking explained that he had been tricked into the English treaty with indecent haste, because the English had deceived him into thinking the Dutch would take his country; and though this had surprised him as being contrary to the treaty between England and Holland, he had assumed that, although Malacca was being restored to the Dutch, there might be some other clause prohibiting any engagement between Johor and Holland her ancient ally. To Farquhar the Underking explained that he had not applied for English aid, as the Dutch had used no force. Whatever the validity of the respective treaties, the Dutch were in possession of Riau. On October 15 Farquhar wrote to the Underking suggesting the Carimon Islands as a suitable place to give the British for a port.

Raffles now received instructions from Bengal that he might establish a British port at Riau if the Dutch had not forestalled him, or, if they had, he might negotiate for a port in Johor, after he had made enquiries with regard to "the actual political conditions and relations of the State, the degree of independent authority exercised by the chief, his power of maintaining any engagements he may contract, his relations with other States, especially the Dutch settlements at Malacca and the Government of Siam." "There is some reason to think," the Instructions continued, "that the Dutch will claim authority over the State of Johor by virtue of some old engagements, and though it is possible the pretension might be successfully combated, it will not be consistent with the policy or present views of the Governor-General in Council to raise a question of this sort with the Netherlandish authorities."

The Carimons rejected on the report of a marine surveyor, Raffles and Farquhar on 28 January 1819 anchored off St. John's Island in Singapore waters. The next morning, accompanied by a Sepoy with a musket, they landed at Singapore and went to the house of Temenggong 'Abdu'r-Rahman, who entertained them with Malay fruit the more refreshing as he told them there were no Dutch on the island. Singapore was part of Johor. Did the visitors remember with satisfaction that when handing over Malacca in 1795, the Dutch had declared that Riau, Lingga, Johor and Pahang were not dependencies of that ancient settlement?

Though in August 1818 Farquhar had signed a treaty with the Underking of Riau by virtue of powers granted him by 'Abdu'r-Rahman Sultan of Johor, Pahang and dependencies, and though in his letter suggesting the Carimons for a port he had again referred to 'Abdu'r-Rahman as emperor, he now also conveniently remembered that that potentate had deprecated being called ruler of the Johor empire and had declared that he was only Sultan of Lingga. Aware that under Dutch surveillance neither Sultan 'Abdu'r-Rahman of Lingga nor the Underking at Riau would be able to convey any rights at Singapore to the British, Raffles determined to go back on the British recognition of the younger brother, Sultan 'Abdu'r-Rahman of Lingga, whom in 1813 he himself had addressed as "seated on the throne of Johor, Pahang and all their dependencies," and to instal Tengku Husain as the rightful Sultan of the old empire of Johor. Evidently the Temenggong abetted him and apparently the Bugis Underking at Riau gave his tacit consent, glad to satisfy so easily Husain and his friend the Temenggong and to trim so conveniently between the Scylla of Holland and the Charybdis of Great Britain. That Raffles had any shadow of right so to interfere in the domestic politics of a Malay empire bound for two centuries by intimate ties to the Dutch, no one can for a moment contend. However the Eastern seas had never been a school for fine sentiment and Raffles was not only sore at the loss of Java and Britain's place in the Malayan sun but felt honest indignation at the wretchedness Dutch tyranny and Dutch monopoly of trade had brought to the Malays.

On 30 January 1819 the Dato' Temenggong Sri Maharaja, who two months before had signed a treaty with the Dutch, now "in

his own name and in the name of Sri Sultan Husain Mu'azzam Shah, Raja of Johor " and in return for an annual grant of $3,000 and for British protection, agreed to let the English Company land, hoist the Union Jack and select land " at Singapore or other place in the government of Singapore-Johor " for the establishment of a factory. Raffles paid two Malay gentlemen $500 each to fetch the " rightful " heir from Riau. Tengku Husain pretended he was going fishing and sailed on to Singapore, where in the name of the Governor-General of Bengal he was installed in the open with the aid of a plumed and aiguilletted A.D.C. as Sultan of Johor. Raffles gave him a thousand dollars and rolls of black and yellow cloth and on the same day, being 6 February 1819, Their Highnesses the Sultan and Temenggong signed a treaty confirming the preliminary agreement of 30 January, in return for annual allowances of $5,000 to the Sultan and $3,000 to the Temenggong and substituting " factories " for " factory." So began the division of the historic Sultanate of Johor, Pahang and the Riau Archipelago. Husain reigned in Singapore, his brother at Lingga, the one in the English the other in the Dutch zone.

The Dutch indignation at Raffles' ruse and the final legal partition of the old empire belong to the history of the new British settlement.

VIII

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S RELATIONS WITH SIAM AND THE NORTHERN MALAY STATES.

i.

THE ACQUISITION OF PINANG.

Singapore was not the first British settlement in Malaya. In 1771 Francis Light, a young Suffolk man now a trader but formerly a naval officer, wrote to his firm, Jourdain Sullivan and De Souza of Madras, that the Sultan of Kedah would give his sea-port and fort and even his whole coast up to Pinang in return for assistance against the Bugis of Selangor. The Sultan had a monopoly of all the Kedah trade and this monopoly he was prepared to share equally with the British, the cost of the factory and of the force required to deal with the Bugis being similarly divided. The Danes had already offered the Sultan 300 sepoys to assist in recovering the ships and guns carried off by the Bugis, if His Highness would allow them a factory, but the Sultan had answered that he had given port and coast to the English. Light stressed the value of a concession, which would exclude Dutch Danes French and Tamils and engaged that, if sepoys and a few Europeans were sent with leave to assist the king against Selangor, "not a slab of tin, a grain of pepper, betel-nut or *damar*" should be exported to any but the British. The information was sought for the East India Company which now sent from Madras the Honourable Edward Monckton to suggest to the Sultan that "in consideration of the support the Company proposed to give" him, he should grant it all the Kedah port dues for the payment of military expenses, grant ground for a fort and agency, and sign a contract to buy every year at fixed prices certain quantities of articles enumerated and supply in return tin, wax, pepper and elephants' teeth or other staple articles for the China market. But when the Sultan discovered that the Company's support did not include aid against Selangor, he dismissed Monckton as a "stuttering boy" and declared that "the King of Siam had strictly forbidden him ever to let any Europeans settle in his kingdom":—as early as 1634 Siam had enough control over Kedah to press its Malays into forces which the Lord of the White Elephant was assembling to

attack Patani. Baulked of his hopes, Light now let his fancy turn to thoughts of love and in 1772 married not, as gossip said, a Kedah princess but a Portuguese Eurasian, Martina Rozells, who bore him five children, of whom one became Aide-de-Camp to the Duke of Wellington and afterwards founder of Adelaide.

Warren Hastings was preoccupied in India turning a trading company's possessions into an empire and had no time for the trade or politics of Malaya. It is true that in 1780 he listened with interest to the account Light gave him in Calcutta of Dutch designs to monopolize Malayan commerce and of the good harbour and tin trade of Junk Ceylon, a title to which the persuasive young merchant seaman was empowered to offer to the Company. But the project came to nothing. In 1782 war with France, Holland and Haider Ali rendered the Bay of Bengal unsafe for commercial ventures. The acquisition of a British settlement in Malaya had to slumber in the brain of the sailor trader but events were to aid the accomplishment of his dream. A harbour had to be found for victualling and refitting ships engaged in the China trade, a harbour, too, where a squadron might be stationed to guard Malayan waters and the Bay of Bengal. Should it be Acheh, Trincomalee, the Andamans, the Nicobars, on the Sunda Straits or on the Indian side of the Bay? The Dutch foiled missions sent by Warren Hastings to Acheh and to Riau. Bencoolen was too far off the trade routes ever to become a centre of commerce or to provide a convenient port of call for East Indiamen bound to and from Canton. Again Captain Light "Dewa Raja" opened negotiations with Kedah and persuaded its new ruler to give him on 27 August 1785 an oft quoted document, agreeing to let the Company make a settlement and a harbour of the Island of Pinang on certain conditions and in return for an annual payment of $30,000 to compensate Kedah for the consequent loss of her monopoly of trade in tin, rattans and canes. Salient clauses were "whenever any hostile power comes from the eastern or western sea, it shall be considered by the Company to be its enemies and the expense of the war shall fall on the Company.... And whenever any enemy from the interior shall attack us, he shall be considered as an enemy to the Company and on such an

occasion we request assistance from the Company of men, powder and shot and arms large and small and also of money for the expense of such a war, and whenever it is finished we promise to repay what has been advanced." The Bengal authorities aware that trade must flow to the more convenient and civilised British settlement accepted a stipulation that ships, junks and prows be allowed to trade at Kedah or Pinang as they liked. They resolved to inform the Sultan by letter that the Company would *"always keep an armed vessel stationed to guard the Island of Pinang and the coast adjacent, belonging to the king of Quedah."* Their reply to the clause dealing with an annual payment to cover the Sultan's loss of monopolies, clearly applied only to finance: "the Governor-General in Council, on behalf of the English East India Company, will take care that the King of Quedah shall not be a sufferer by an English settlement being formed on the Island of Pinang." The article referring to English assistance in the event of attacks from the interior would *"be referred for the orders of the East India Company, together with such parts of the King of Quedah's request as cannot be complied with previous to their consent being obtained."* Light had pointed out that "the principal and almost only reason why the King wishes an alliance with the Honourable Company" was to get assistance against his enemies "and the treaty must be worded with caution, so as to distinguish between an enemy endeavouring or aiming at destruction of the kingdom, and one who may simply fall into displeasure with either the King or the Minister." The Supreme Government in India bestowed its blessing on the project and recommended Light to be Superintendent of Pinang. The Court of Directors in London at once gave sanction. The Dutch were not to be made jealous; commerce in the Archipelago was to be extended and Asiatics were to be taught to regard the English as their friends and protectors: "we would particularly point your attention to the most prudent and effectual means of giving support to the King of Salengore, as that would, from the friendly intercourse that has long subsisted between us, give credit to us in the eyes of the other Malay chiefs, and secure their confidence and esteem"—except perhaps that of Selangor's bitter enemies the kings of Perak and Kedah! It was not a tactful beginning.

In July 1786 Light reached Kedah to find that there were fears lest the State might be embroiled in the war then being waged between Siam and Burma, and that the English were expected to intervene. On 8 July he had an audience with the Sultan, which is described in his Journal:—

"Went up myself; arrived in the morning, found the Laksamana with the King. He appeared satisfied with the passage in the letter. He read the translation to me and obliged me to sign it. He then read the letter over again and remarked that the Governor-General had deferred entering into a treaty with him until an answer arrived from Europe. As that was the case, it was needless going to Pinang and incurring an expense which would perhaps prove useless. To which, I answered, the greater expense was already incurred by (my) coming there and it would make little difference whether I remained at Kedah or went to Pinang. The Laksamana then desired to know if the Honourable Company would pay the King 30,000 Spanish dollars a year for the trade, and if not how much they would pay. I told him I could not take it upon myself to declare what the Honourable Company would pay but this much I was certain of, that the Honourable Company would not allow the King to be a sufferer by their settling in this country without making him an adequate recompense; that at present and for some time to come the Honourable Company would receive no profit from the possession of the island: on the contrary it would be a heavy expense. He then desired to know if in case the Honourable Company's letter should not be agreeable to the king, whether I would return to Bengal quietly and without enmity. To this I made no answer. I was then desired to withdraw to my boat under pretence of receiving some refreshment. After waiting some time I returned and the conversation was renewed. The King said he did not mean that he would be satisfied with no less a sum than $30,000. He might perhaps accept 20 or even 10,000 but that must be in his own option."

On 17 July, 1786, Light landed on Pinang and on 11 August in the presence of officers from the *Vansittart* and *Valentine*, two of the Company's ships, which had brought letters from Madras,

he hoisted the British flag and formally took possession of the island in the name of His Britannic Majesty, christening it Prince of Wales Island. With the knowledge and connivance of the Company, the sailor empire-builder was sailing very near the wind. An indefinite letter instead of a treaty of final cession! A letter inconsistent and vague on defence, the only point that swayed the ruler of Kedah! The signature of a Sultan whose father had told Monckton in 1772 that he was tributary to the King of Siam, who "had strictly forbidden him ever to let any Europeans settle in his kingdom." Not more than a month after Pinang was occupied, Light was writing, "The King of Kedah has reason to be afraid of such a Tyrant" (the king of Siam) "and hopes to secure himself by an Alliance with the Honourable Company." On 5 October 1786 Light informed the Governor-General that he had advised the Sultan to communicate as little as possible with Siamese and Burmese "but to put his Country in a state of defence, and *that while the English are here they will assist him.*" In a minute quoted by Anderson, the Governor-General in India wrote: "the Grant of Pinang seems, in fact, to have been procured by the influence of the principal officer of the King of Quedah, with a view to secure himself a place of retreat against his numerous enemies, and the ostensible object of the King himself, in making the Grant, originated in the idea of supporting his own independence by the protection of the English, and his attachment to us will either be strengthened or changed into animosity, as that protection is granted or withheld. This protection, however cannot be effectually given, without involving us in disputes with the Burmahs or Siamese, the latter of whom are the most powerful." On 17 May 1787 Light wrote to the Indian Government: "The Honourable Board were pleased to mention in their instructions, that they were willing to give a pecuniary consideration to the King of Quedah. Soon after the *Ravensworth* sailed, the King became very pressing and we found for a considerable time a difficulty in procuring provisions. I wrote to the King it was the intention of Government to make him a compensation for the Island and to keep him in good humour I trusted him with 20 Chests of Opium at $250 *per* chest, since which we have been plentifully supplied with provisions. There is a necessity for coming to some

terms with the King of Quedah while the fears of the Siamese and Burmahs are upon him; and I have reason to believe that nothing will be acceptable without Government promising the King protection." Without an alliance, Light continued, the King might refuse provisions and let Danes, Dutch or French settle in some other part of Kedah. If the Siamese occupied Kedah, they would be "insolent and troublesome" neighbours. He "humbly conceived" that it would be easier and less expensive for the Company to declare Kedah under its protection. In January 1788 the sentiments of the Indian government were communicated to Light. "With respect to protecting the King of Quedah against the Siamese, the Governor-General in Council has already decided against any measures that may involve the Company in Military operations against any of the Eastern princes." Mr. Light might "employ the countenance or influence of the Company for the Security of the King of Quedah....strictly guarding against any Acts or Declaration, that may involve the honor, credit or troops of the Company." This declaration was an invitation to Kedah's enemies to work their will on her. Light, sanguine and eager, had staked his honour and lost: the honour of his indifferent employers stood now rooted in dishonour. If it had not quite broken its own word, the Company had stood by and let Light jump Pinang by an implied assurance. As Anderson has remarked, there is no doubt that Light had led Kedah to expect more than he could fulfil.

Rumour now whispered that the Sultan was trying to placate Siam by denouncing the English and had even invoked Siam's aid to expel them. His Highness approached the Dutch at Batavia and the French at Pondicherry for a defensive alliance. In vain Light expostulated that two companies of Sepoys with four 6 pounder field pieces could defend Kedah against Siam. In June 1788 he informed the Governor-General that the king had made no answer to his offer of $10,000 a year for eight years or $4,000 a year for so long as the Company occupied Pinang: Light had hinted "that although the Company did not wish to make Alliances that might occasion disputes with powers they were at peace with, they had not positively forbad my assisting him, if really distressed."

When the king did reply, he refused to part with Pinang unless the Company would promise him assistance against Siamese attacks and early in 1790 His Highness assembled forces at Prai to retake the island. Light collecting a body of 400 men took the offensive and defeated his quondam friend and on 20 April 1791 made a treaty with His Highness, promising him $6,000 a year so long as the English occupied Pinang and stipulating for the mutual rendition of fugitive slaves, debtors, murderers and forgers, the exclusion of Europeans of any other nation from Kedah, free trade with Kedah in provisions, and that the English would not harbour traitors and rebels from Kedah or the Sultan supply provisions to enemies of the English. The Supreme Government confirmed this engagement, which at last gave legal sanction to the acquisition of Pinang. Force had succeeded where evasive diplomacy had failed and force had cost a mere trifle. Swettenham apparently ignorant of the battle of 1791 ascribes the conclusion of the 1791 treaty to the Sultan's reliance on Light's word, but after 1788 the Sultan had ceased to believe that an Englishman's word is his bond. One wonders what Light felt about it all before in 1794 he died!

Perhaps because he had had his gruel, perhaps because he welcomed a barrier that must have seemed even to him a bulwark against aggression, perhaps because he was in need of money, in 1800 the Sultan ceded to the English Company a tract on the Kedah mainland opposite Pinang. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir George Leith, has described how his agent Mr. Caunter crossed to Perlis and found the Raja well disposed to give the land (which had a population of two or three thousand), but there was opposition by the ministers. After some days "it was hinted that the ministers and women of the seraglio required some presents, and that if this was not complied with, there would be no hopes of obtaining the land." Mr. Caunter took on himself to promise the $2,000 named and every obstacle was removed. The Company wanted complete control of both shores of a harbour still frequented by pirates, and it wanted a hinterland that would render Pinang independent of foreign supplies of food, especially cattle and rice. There was still no mention of a defensive alliance. But the tract

to be called Province Wellesley (in honour of the then Governor-General) was ceded to the British in perpetuity, and the Company was to pay the Sultan of Kedah $10,000 a year so long as it should occupy Pinang and Province Wellesley. Leith was reminded that the treaty should have been concluded subject to the approval of the home authorities: the Governor-General had instructed him merely to report how far it might be expedient to obtain a tract "on the Kedah shore for the purpose of breeding cattle, and for securing the entire command of the port." The same instructions had laid down that "no time should be lost in liquidating the arrears of the sum which the Company are bound to pay to him annually" and had added with that sanctimoniousness characteristic of the period "the Rt. Honourable the Governor-General in Council trusts, that the liberal and upright conduct which that prince, as well as other native chiefs will experience in their transactions with you, will enable you to impress them with a due respect for the British government, and to inspire them with a full confidence in its justice." After his past experience the ruler of Kedah must have been far more impressed with the 5,000 British troops and 5,000 sepoys that bivouacked on Pinang in 1797 on their way to Manila,—when the reports of the future Duke of Wellington and other military authorities did away with any idea of abandoning Pinang as settlement. In 1804 Lieutenant-Governor Farquhar advised the Company that to make sure of supplies for Pinang it must either take part in Kedah politics and help its ruler to curb his "five or six brothers and an uncle, all equally oppressive and independent" or obtain 144 square leagues of Kedah territory and introduce a "modified Malay government," pursuing such measures as promised speedily to people and cultivate the territory.

In 1810 when Lord Minto called at Pinang on his way to conquer Java, the Sultan addressed to him a long letter setting forth his version of the conditions under which Pinang was given to the British. Anderson's commentary on this is that "it was quite inconsistent with reason to suppose, that Pinang was ceded without some very powerful inducements in the way of promises by Mr. Light, which no doubt, in his eagerness to obtain the grant,

were liberal and almost unlimited, and that his inability to perform them was the occasion of much mental suffering to him."

From 1786 onwards the complaints of the Sultan of Kedah about the oppressive demands of Siam were frequent. In 1810 he wrote to the Governor of Pinang that from time immemorial Kedah had sent the Golden Flowers to her powerful neighbour but that for two or three years past Siam had made other and unprecedented demands. Some months later he added the argument: "even should they not attack Pinang, yet, when Kedah shall be destroyed, my friend will be distressed in many ways." In 1810 too the Sultan wanted a loan from the Governor because Siam had ordered him to furnish armed boats to fight the Burmese, and shortly afterwards the king of Ava asked the English to assist his old dependency, Kedah, against Siam. The English ascribed this Burmese manoeuvre to the tactics of the Raja!

In 1813 the Sultan of Kedah announced that lately when the Bendahara had presented one of his sons at the court of Ayuthia, Siam had decided to attack and annex Perak. In November 1816 the Sultan was commanded to carry out this policy designed deliberately to weaken both Kedah and Perak. Greatly distressed Ahmad Taju'd-din obeyed in order if possible to avert mischief from his own country. But true to tradition the East India Company did nothing except try (in June 1818) to induce Perak to submit the tribute of Gold and Silver Flowers to Ayuthia. It did, however, supply Kedah with muskets and gunpowder on credit and undertook to arrest deserters from the Kedah forces and to let her Sultan recruit Indian gunners in Pinang and enlist Kedah men living in Province Wellesley. On 12 September 1818 the ruler of Kedah was complaining to Pinang that the task of subduing Perak was hard enough and now on the top of that Siam had commanded him to despatch to Trang war-boats and rice for a force about to fight the Burmese, who had sacked Junk Ceylon; while in order to embroil him with England, Siam had forbidden him to export rice to Pinang. Siam had represented that Burma would invade "Cherai," namely Kedah, because Malays at Salang had attacked Chinese and Burmese prows engaged in collecting birds' nests; it had observed that, if Kedah were afraid of Burma,

the war in Perak should be expedited and all the Kedah forces employed against Ava. The Sultan vowed that he would still export rice to Pinang, and he added that he wanted to be entirely under the protection of the king of England.

Pinang chose this moment to press Kedah to sanction a revision of the inconvenient boundary of Province Wellesley and to lease plots of land south of the Muda river and in the interior of Prai for British factories, while in October 1818 the Governor started correspondence that lasted certainly till the end of 1819, demanding redress for a cargo seized by the Straits-born Chinese farmer at Kuala Muda in spite of the ship belonging to the Company and being guarded by its sepoys. The Governor further protested that the duties imposed by the farmer on these goods in transit to Kroh were too high: $15 a *bahar* on tin worked out at more than 37%; the Company would assist the Sultan to buy back any rights given to the farmer but it refused to pay duty of more than 5% on tin. The Sultan retorted that he had leased the farm for five years and *was not accustomed to breaking his word:* he hoped that the Company would pay the duties prescribed, namely $50 on a chest of opium, 2½% on cloth and $15 a *bahar* for tin, and he would be obliged for a loan of $30,000. Anderson considered that it was fear of Siam which kept the Sultan both from altering the boundary of Province Wellesley and from throwing open the navigation of the Muda and Merbok rivers. Even though Bannerman, then at death's door, held up payment of the Pinang annuity for a month, still the Sultan refused to alter the boundary: Governor Phillips paid the annuity, pretending that it had never been intended to withhold it. The Sultan also informed Bannerman, just before that Governor's death on 8 August 1819, that though as conqueror of Perak he would like to give the Company the Dindings in order to avoid further occupation by the Dutch, he feared Siam which was already angry over the cession of Province Wellesley.

There was much miscellaneous correspondence between Pinang and Kedah during these years. In 1819 the Governor requested the Sultan to help Malay Agents of the Ceylon Government to seek recruits in his state for a Malay regiment and the Sultan gave 40 convicts.

On 12 May 1819 there was a letter from one soon to be the bugbear of Kedah and Pinang. In return for sepoy's uniforms, muskets and glass presented to him by the Governor, the Raja of Ligor sent tin along with an enquiry as to goods salable in Siam; he solicited help for two ships which were taking elephants and tin to Coromandel and would afterwards bring Siamese and Kelantan goods for sale at Pinang; and he asked the Governor to send him a gun, two or three young caffre girls and a pair of handsome spectacles suitable for a man fifty or sixty years old!

ii.

THE KEDAH WARS AND AFTER.

As early as February 1821 the Governor of Pinang retailed to Sultan Ahmad Taju'd-din Halimshah news from Bangkok that owing to his remissness in sending the tribute of the Golden Flowers Kedah would be attacked from Singgora. The Sultan ridiculed the pretext of the tribute but remarked that Siam had long been jealous of the British occupation of Pinang. Accused by his brother and other enemies of plotting with Burma, he refused to obey an order to go to Bangkok. Punishment came swiftly. At noon on Sunday 12 November 1821 the commander of the fort at Kuala Kedah saw a large Siamese fleet approaching, trained his guns to bear on these war-boats and sent word up river to the Bendahara, who decided to rely on a parley. The Bendahara and some other Malays went down to the covered wharf where the Siamese first demanded rice for a campaign against the Burmese and, on being promised this, threw off the mask and told the chiefs they had come to arrest them. Shouting that they were betrayed the chiefs drew their creeses and attacked their tormentors. The venerable Laksamana and the invulnerable Temenggong were slain; the Bendahara was taken prisoner and their Malay followers were butchered "by means the most cruel and revolting to human nature." The small brick fort which was principally defended by Bengali and Chulia sepoys was taken. Next day the Siamese attacked the small battery at Kuala Merbok driving the Sultan to desert his floating house a few miles up that river and flee on elephants with his family, and such of his belongings as he could collect. Many of his fugitive followers having no elephants perished

from hunger and fatigue, but, after five days of exposure and privation the Sultan scattering rupees from his elephant to delay his pursuers reached his brother on the Prai river, when embarking on four or five prows he sought British protection at Pinang. A few days later the Governor got a haughty demand for his surrender: "let my friend secure and deliver him" wrote the Chau Phya of Ligor; "should this be refused, I am at Kedah with a large force and near to Pinang, and friendly relations will be broken and commercial intercourse will cease." To this a dignified refusal was returned, and the Governor despatched sepoys to Province Wellesley to safeguard Malay fugitives and expel their Siamese pursuers. Thousands of fugitives crossed in canoes to Pinang. Some were capsized and drowned; some were caught by the Siamese, the women ravished and the men split asunder and thrown to the crocodiles. The second and favourite son of the Sultan was captured and sent to Siam. From Malacca the Dutch Governor, Timmerman Thyssen, now despatched a frigate to help in the defence of Pinang where the poorer part of the population was suffering for want of the usual supplies from Kedah and the richer was burying or removing its valuables. Neighbouring Malay rulers offered to help expel the Siamese from the state they had so scandalously subdued, and the Pinang government informed Bengal that unless it could be arranged for the Siamese to withdraw from the neighbourhood of Pinang, the forces of the Presidency would have to be augmented. The Governor wrote that "His Highness of Quedah has certainly much misgoverned his Kingdom, yet his long connection with the British Government has given us a far greater influence over his mind and character than what we can expect to acquire with regard to the chief who may be placed on the throne of Quedah by the Siamese. It appears to me, that the British Government should not hesitate to endeavour to obtain the restoration of our Ally to the Throne of his Ancestors, because it is undoubted policy to prevent the near approach of Siamese influence and power, and because his restoration, if effected by our means, would redound highly to the honour and reputation of the British Character among the surrounding Malay States." The Indian Government had accepted Kedah's vassalage to Siam and refused to resort to force. And when the ex-Sultan in despair

arranged with Burma and Selangor for a combined attack on Siam, the Pinang authorities reported this abuse of refuge to Ligor and destroyed all hope that Siam would forgive and restore the exile.

In 1822 the Indian Government sent John Crawfurd on a mission to Siam. His instructions were not to ask for settlements or monopolies but to allay distrust of the British and press for a fixed scale of customs duties instead of the variable and exorbitant fees which hampered expanding commerce: if the topic did not prove distasteful to Siam, he might suggest the restoration of the Company's exiled ally. More important in the eyes of the Pinang government were recognition by Siam of the Company's right to Pinang which Siam's vassal had granted it without Siam's authority, and the continued free importation of supplies from Kedah into a settlement that was not self-supporting. The Siamese did allude to Pinang as a British possession but so far from forgiving the ex-Sultan they demanded his surrender and the payment of the Pinang annuity of $10,000 to their nominee. These demands Crawfurd refused and he left Bangkok, his mission almost a failure.

In the spring of 1823 Governor Phillips warned the ex-Sultan that he had not the means to fight Ligor or Siam: he was free to leave Pinang but must not take followers or arms, and, if defeated, he would be viewed as a private individual and not be sheltered as an allied king or paid the annuity. On 28 April 3,000 Malays under Tengku 'Abdu'llah, the ex-Sultan's son, attacked the Siamese in Kedah but were easily defeated. In answer to a complaint from the Chau Phya, Governor Phillips wrote that the British would not interfere with the exiled ruler so long as the exile himself did not violate the law of nations:—" if however the Raja of Ligor will reflect on what he has done to Kedah, that he has made its king an exile and has carried away many of its chiefs and almost all his nearest relations, and that by measures of extreme severity he has driven away half the population of that unfortunate country, he will not be surprised that this king's friends and subjects should do everything in their turn to injure and molest the Raja of Ligor, whilst it must me impossible for the British Government to put a stop to the proceedings of these people and particularly of those who are not residents of Pinang, unless it adopted similar

measures of severity as those executed by the Raja of Ligor, which of course it never can or will do." The Pinang government forwarded to Ligor a letter from the king of Burma acknowledging the present of a clock from the ex-Sultan, noting his desire to become tributary and promising to restore him: the hope that this news would frighten the Ligorian into recognizing the ex-Sultan failed; it only confirmed his suspicion that the English were abetting the exile.

On 3 April 1824 Ligor envoys informed the Governor that they had been authorized to assure the ex-Sultan that, if he would solicit the aid of the Chau Phya, abstain from predatory warfare on the northern ports of Kedah and not accept the aid of Burma and other Malay States, then he might return and be invested with his old authority. Deceived by these professions which seem to have been inspired by fear of a concerted attack on Kedah by Burma, Patani, Perak, Selangor and other Malay States, Governor Phillips wrote a letter to the Chau Phya, urging him that difference of religion, language and custom made futile Buddhist Siam's conquest of Malay and Muslim Kedah and that, as the British were about to attack Siam's enemy Burma, Siam might well reinstate the ex-Sultan. Siam was now convinced that the exile was abetted by the British. On 19 September the ex-Sultan asked that he might be paid $10,000 a year as before, and not merely $500 a month which he had drawn since he came to Pinang. Fullerton reported to the Siamese governor of Kedah the British occupation of Tavoy and Mergui and asked for free-trade with Kedah and Ligor and a fixed schedule of duties in place of trade fettered by need of a pass from the Chau Phya and ruined by the exaction of the governor's Chinese and Chulia agents.

In March 1825 the ex-Sultan complained that though he had got Fullerton's leave to visit a sick niece at Prai, the Jemadar and Havildar of his sepoy guard had threatened to stab or shoot him if he tried to cross:—"I came here as a free man and not as a prisoner and should not be exposed to shame and embarrassment: will the government instruct they must not do it again?" In May Fullerton prevented Ligor's attack on Perak. In September the ex-Sultan reported to Fullerton that he had informed the Chau Phya

that he was prepared to take over the government of Kedah provided his sister and son and their followers were restored; but he would like an advance and a British agent with four or five hundred sepoys. Fullerton replied that "the interests of himself and his family are not forgotten, and his restoration to his ancient dignity will always be considered a primary object of all negotiations with the Siamese government." With the Chau Phya diplomatic relations were maintained. He reported that he would escort Burney to Bangkok, and he wanted a big horse. Fullerton sent him a telescope, broadcloth, satin, muslin, 12 bottles of cherry brandy and 12 of lavender water. In December, at Burney's suggestion, the Chau Phya sent a wild goat for the Governor-General of Bengal.

1826 found the ex-Sultan restive. Could he have a sailing-boat out of the Company's godowns for his amusement? Hearing of the death of Raja Yakob at Ligor, he declared that his son had been poisoned, and he begged to return to Kedah even if it meant death. He wanted to move to Kuala Prai to plant rice and earn money. Meanwhile another envoy to Bangkok, Captain Burney (nephew of Madame d'Arblay) was fighting a losing battle for one whom the Siamese denounced as a conspirator with the Burmese. It was fear that had made the Sultan refuse to visit Bangkok. Not till his relatives had been captured and his country taken, had he plotted with Burma. Had he not helped Siam to recover Junk Ceylon from the Burmese? 20,000 Malays had fled from Kedah: unless they and their king were allowed to return, England and Siam could never be friends. Would Siam accept the following draft Article?

The King of Siam "as a proof of his high regard for the British Nation accepts its mediation in favour of the king of Kedah and engages to restore His Highness to his throne and kingdom, to release and remand the whole of his family and subjects that are in captivity and to withdraw the troops and subjects of Siam from Kedah, and further engages that the troops and subjects of Siam shall not again invade or occupy that territory or disturb its peace and tranquility."

Britain would engage not to take possession of Kedah and would agree that the Sultan should send Siam the Golden Flowers and $4,000 a year. Pinang was instant that Burney should press for the Sultan's restoration, proposing that the annual tribute be raised by one or two thousand dollars to cover the $4,000 and that the Sultan should sue for pardon. Burney assured Fullerton that "unequivocal proof only that perseverance on my part will defeat all the other objects of my mission shall induce me to cease from urging this Court to restore the Malayan Government of Kedah and remove the Siamese." But only intimidation could have swayed Siam and intimidation would have wrecked commercial relations. The Sultan heard of the treaty concluded on 20 June, with its famous Article XIII that aroused Fullerton and the Pinang press to frenzy:—

...."The Siamese shall remain in Queda....the Siamese shall levy no duty upon stock and provisions....which the inhabitants of Prince of Wales' Islands or ships there may have occasion to purchase.... The Siamese shall levy fair and proper import and export duties.... Chau Phya of Ligor....shall release the slaves, personal servants, family and kindred belonging to the former *Governor* (! = Sultan) of Queda...."

Furthermore the ex-Sultan should not be allowed to live in Pinang, Province Wellesley, Perak, Selangor or Burma.

Burney had arranged the recovery of Burmese kidnapped by Siamese, had avoided admission of Siam's possession of Kelantan and Trengganu and had got Siam to promise to let the Sultan of Perak govern his country as he pleased, but for Kedah his efforts had failed. The ex-Sultan addressed a bitter letter to Fullerton:— "when the Siamese invasion occurred, I recollected the engagement of the English Company with my deceased father, which provided for assistance to my father in any difficulty; which promise induced him to grant this island of Pinang to the English Company, having placed entire reliance on the engagement and power of the Company to extend support and assistance to his son and grandson. It had never been heard that the Company broke any treaty and it was known that they ever extended their assistance to all

neighbouring countries with whom there existed no engagements and to all who placed reliance upon them and solicited their aid. For such was the name of the Company, celebrated in India, Java and other countries. Wherefore recollecting all this I voluntarily came to Pinang because I placed great reliance upon the engagement referred to.... Now Captain Burney has brought a Treaty to which I cannot reconcile my mind. No reliance can be placed in Siamese faith and promises. How many letters have they sent calling me back and promising to deliver Kedah to my charge again. It is my opinion, if the Governor-General were fully acquainted with the circumstances, he would have pity on me and adhere to the treaty, enabling me to return to Kedah. But if the English Company do not assist me, I shall follow my fate; I shall beg to remove from Pinang and try my luck as the Almighty may ordain. Were I to conform to the engagement of Captain Burney, I should suffer great disgrace: it were far preferable I should die than be exposed to such shame. I would rather even go by myself. For Kedah was not a gift from the Siamese nor was I installed by the Siamese. Kedah descended to me through a long line of ancestors. If Kedah had been a Siamese country, my father could not have given Pinang to the Company or at all events there would have been complaints and remonstrances."

The Pinang Board declared that while allowing all due credit to Burney for his patience in negotiating with a "vain arrogant ignorant and conceited court" candour obliged it to confess tha in all matters connected with the Malay Peninsula the mission ha in some degree failed. For this the Board blamed Burney's relianc on the Chau Phya of Ligor. The Burmese war ended, Burne should have denounced the Chau Phya and insisted on the restoratio of Kedah as necessary for the maintenance of peace betwee England and Siam. In reply Burney quoted a remark by th Governor-General that he could not see how Siam would surrende Kedah (reputed to bring in $30,000 a year) unless Tavoy or Merg were given in exchange. It was not the provincial Chau Ph who was the obstacle but the Wangna, viceroy of southern S and minister of war. The Wangna had proposed that Bu should be hanged for vexing Siam with representations about F

which were not even mentioned in the letter of the Governor-General. Had Burney attacked the Chau Phya, that official would have risen in the estimation of Bangkok. Had he consulted his own wishes, Burney would have left Bangkok in a month:—"I could not wish my worst enemy a more difficult task than to negotiate in matters connected with the Malay Peninsula without authority or means for employing effectual intimidation." After all, had he succeeded, Great Britain must have kept an army in Kedah to support a bad ruler and defend his frontiers; and 10,000 Malays would have left Province Wellesley. Fullerton snorted. The Pinang Board had weighed these "imaginary fears": had Burney disagreed with it, he should not have undertaken the mission. Granted Burney had arrested further Siamese encroachments towards the south, "a negotiation entered into for the restoration of a kingdom to an ejected king living under our protection, terminating in an engagement on our own part to dismiss him from our territory can surely be designated by no other term than failure."

In March 1827 the ex-Sultan asked not to be opposed if he tried to recover Kedah. Though the Chau Phya released his relatives, still he would not budge from Pinang. His sister and her children had arrived only with the clothes they were wearing: he wanted his allowance raised to $10,000 to meet this extra expense. Fullerton promised His Highness the addition if he would go to Malacca, assuring him that Bengal did not regard his removal as a renunciation of his claims. The exile replied.... "In former times the English Company never used compulsion in such cases. Captain Burney made an engagement with Siam without my knowledge. Why did Captain Burney comply with the wishes of the King of Siam in a manner very improper and tending to lower the opinion of the power of the English King? Is it usual for one merchant to sell another's goods without the consent of the owner?" To Malay notions it was a great disgrace that he had remained so long at Pinang: might he go where he liked? Fullerton consulted the Governor-General. The Sultan wanted to go to Deli or Siak where he would collect his adherents and eventually meet the fate in Kedah, but meanwhile there would be piracy and trouble [illegible] Pinang. Even if the Sultan quitted British territory to

attack Kedah, Siam might still blame us. The best course was to use the Sultan's honorary guard of sepoys to ensure that His Highness did not leave the island. No reply from Bengal. Fullerton could not imprison an old ally. So on 15 November the ex-Sultan was ordered to go to Malacca or quit British territory within fifteen days or alternatively he would forfeit British protection. The Pinang government agreed to pay $4,500 for the Sultan's house there and an Indian vessel was chartered for his removal. On 23 November the ex-Sultan dictated his terms. He would go to Malacca, if his annuity were raised to $20,000, if he might go elsewhere in case of not being soon restored to Kedah, and if the Company would restore his absconding slaves. Fullerton asked the Recorder, Sir John Claridge, if he would consent to give an opinion whether the peremptory order of the Governor-General was legal justification for the use of force to remove the ex-Sultan. The Recorder did not consent. The Sultan might claim the protection of the Court; force might lead to homicide; in either event, he would be the trial judge. Claridge gave his own view. "Whether you are warranted by any Statute or by the Law of England or Nations or not, I think from your own statement, such a proceeding will bring the character of this Government to a level with that of Ligor and disgrace the British name among all civilised nations and I cannot consent to have my name mixed up with such a transaction." A minute, as Fullerton declared, "altogether unprecedented and unbecoming." Captain Low and the Superintendent of Police are instructed to enquire if "any one connected with the Court" had visited the ex-Sultan. Only the Recorder! Low and Caunter ask for remuneration or at least out-of-pocket expenses for their many unpleasant visits to the exile, but "as the commission has neither succeeded in their object" (of inducing the Sultan to go) "nor sufficiently entered into the causes of failure which are sufficiently notorious, the Board does not consider them entitled to any remuneration." As for Sir John, "the supremacy of the Recorder," Fullerton considered himself warranted in minuting, "is too clearly the grand object in view throughout the whole course of his conduct since he came to this island." Fullerton reported the matter to Bengal, expressing the fear that though the allowance to the ex-Sultan was political, yet

if it were stopped a suit might be instituted in the Recorder's court. Fort William "perused with much pain the reply of the Recorder" but the ex-Sultan got his respite: the Governor-General considered it inadvisable to remove him. After the Recorder's "unprecedented" minute, Fullerton had adopted an attitude of dignified pain: he pointed out to His Highness that he had been given refuge, been paid an annuity, had his relatives restored and had received every assistance except military support and yet he dictated conditions! Therefore he forfeited annuity and protection and was no longer acknowledged as king of Kedah; no letter signed Sultan would be accepted from him and in future all his letters must be addressed to the Superintendent of Police. Pinang's nerves were frayed, but this was only the first round in that long bout with His Highness Ahmad Taju'd-din Halimshah.

In 1828 a mild attack of small-pox kept the Sultan quiet but in February 1829 he was remonstrating with the Pinang police magistrates. He, who could not get the money due to him and could not buy supplies, how could he be privy to disturbances then being created in Kedah by his sons and adherents? Kedah's governor, the son of the Chau Phya, had a different tale. In November Resident Councillor Ibbetson informed the son of the Chau Phya that the ex-Sultan had escaped to the mainland but the British would apprehend him if he gave trouble. The ex-Sultan now wrote a letter intercepted by the Siamese:—"Know that I have arranged with the Governor of Pinang who has forbidden me to make war from there but has recommended me to move to Teluk Ayer Tawar and try to get all the Kedah people living at Prai, Penaga and Kuala Muda to join me. 5,000 will join me. The Governor wants it kept secret from the Siamese. The Company will assist me. I have received 100 muskets with powder and ball.... Do not let my people be suspicious. The Bengal Lord has ordered the Raja of Pinang to send 4 vessels and 1,000 sepoys to my aid."

The British Superintendent of Police arrested two sons of the ex-Sultan on their way to invade Kedah, also a nephew, also a Pinang merchant and Frederic Reiter, a German forger banished from Batavia, the two last wearing the uniforms of British officers.

"It was a crusade against the infidel in which the ex-Raja's claims were almost forgotten. Hajis preached it, the rich natives encouraged it, the mass of the people rung a peal (?) for excitement and plunder and Christians even forgot in the tumult the peaceful tenets of their faith to league with the Crescent in a cause with which they had no concern." On 25 August 1830 the Chau Phya was informed that, as the ex-Sultan had not removed to Malacca, Siam could impose the duties mentioned in the Burney treaty. In December Murchison addressed the ex-Sultan by his title once more and begged him to go to Malacca or at least return to Pinang when his annuity would be paid with arrears.

In January 1831 the ex-Sultan returned to Pinang and solemnly warned his son Din against piracy! Pinang thought the Kedah royal family were now becoming pirates from indigence. But it was soon disillusioned. In April a column of some 3,000 invaded Kedah overland from Province Wellesley. A large fleet attacked the fort at the mouth of the Kedah river. With scarcely 100 troops, the Siamese commandant fled. Many of his assailants wore red coats and were mistaken for British troops. Thirty Siamese were captured, imprisoned and finally tortured and murdered in cold blood, a precedent the Siamese "did not imitate to the degree that might have been expected." A Chinese was sewn up alive in the raw reeking hide of a buffalo: exposed to the sun the hide shrank and squeezed its victim to death. Mr. Ibbetson proclaimed the raid piratical and called on British subjects to return home in five days! In reply Tengku Kudin assumed the title of vicegerent. British ships came to the estuaries of the Kedah and Merbok rivers to prevent the entrance of other "piratical" fleets, in fact to blockade it. Kudin inveighed against the "treacherous" British blockade and declared that the Malays had left Province Wellesley on account of the oppressive land-tax; he threatened to descend on it to retaliate for the obstacles its Superintendent had thrown against Malays joining the standard of the Prophet's servants. To the Siamese he said that the British had abetted him. In June the Chau Phya advanced from Ligor with 7,500 men and 300 elephants and scattered the Malays, leaving only Kudin with a few hundred men to defend Kedah forts against

the Siamese whose cartridges were bamboo and bullets of tin. However, with even-handed justice Pinang supplied the Siamese as they had already supplied the Malays with ammunition. The Siamese, having no battering ram, built Trojan towers of wood overtopping the fort which they raked the fire. Malaria attacked the Siamese forces. Finally in October they stormed the fort. Most of the garrison fell. Kudin was killed and his head sent to Bangkok. During the five months of fighting, the Siamese lost 700 and the Malays 1,500 men. 16,000 Malays fled to Province Wellesley.

During this war the ex-Sultan behaved with astute decorum. He acknowledged a letter from the Resident, Mr. Ibbetson, informing him that sepoys would watch his house as if he were "a criminal." He would not "act like a cooly or run away"; he wanted to go to Bengal and meet the Governor-General. In June rather than risk removal by force he at last left Pinang for Malacca and was paid his annuity. In the same month his son, Zainal-Abidin, wrote to Murchison, the Deputy Resident at Pinang, that by his father's orders he had recovered Kedah, and now the British could set aside the Burney treaty as they had set aside former treaties!

In 1836 the exile having got leave to reside at Deli in Sumatra quitted Malacca but sailed instead to the Perak estuary and settled at Bruas, where the Raja Muda visited this prince who had conquered Perak at Siam's behest in 1818. Captain James Low was sent at once to point out to the Sultan of Perak that any co-operation with the ex-Sultan would give Siam an excuse for once more invading Perak. Ahmad Taju'd-din adopted his old tactics of passive resistance: he refused to leave Bruas and collected there several hundreds of his old adherents for another descent on the Siamese in Kedah. "Surely the English will not be displeased if I can retake Kedah," he wrote to Salmond the Resident Councillor of Pinang. The Company was not going to let this breach of the Burney treaty bring Siam so far south: *H.M.S. Zebra* proceeded to Bruas and after an affray in which one seaman was killed and four wounded secured the ex-Raja, who was then sent to Malacca. But the preparations for a second Kedah war went

on and "the war-whoop at Pinang was still heard urging two exasperated half-civilised races to deeds of carnage."

In March 1838 the ex-Sultan discovered a paladin in his nephew, Tengku Muhammad Said, in the uncharitable language of the Company a man "of unsettled if not predatory habits":— "at this time there is Tuanku Muhammad Said who has become enlightened by Allah's grace and has been directed by Allah to return to Kedah. Let all my chiefs and relatives who wish to partake of the mercy of Allah assemble at Merbok river." A Kedah fleet drove back a Siamese fleet at Kuala Merbok. Kedah fort fell and the Siamese defenders were massacred. The Malays took Perlis and Trang. Their force was estimated at 10,000. They marched north sacking villages and Buddhist temples. One column reached the Patani river, another invested Singgora for three months but was driven back to Kedah by 500 Chinese and 2,000 Siamese. Meanwhile the indomitable Chau Phya had crossed the Kedah frontier with 1,500 men. He came, he saw, he conquered. To Britain's shame, British gun-boats blockaded the Kedah coast.

The war of 1839 convinced Ahmad Taju'd-din Halimshah that he would never recover his throne by arms. Accordingly in 1841 he sent his eldest son, Tengku Daik, with a letter from Governor Bonham to sue for pardon from the king of Siam. The Bengal Government had authorised Bonham to declare that in the event of further Malay insurrection the Straits government would not assist to quash it. The Chau Phya was dead, and Bangkok was tired after twenty years of guerilla warfare that had ruined Kedah and not benefitted her suzerain. In 1842 the Siamese officials were recalled and the Sultan allowed to leave Malacca and return, though parts of his former kingdom, Setul, Perlis and Kubang Pasu were placed under independent rajas:—Kubang Pasu eventually became part of Kedah, Setul is since 1909 part of Siam, and Perlis has remained independent. The English Company still refused the Sultan's request for an alliance pledging it to maintain him on the throne.

Guerilla warfare had now become a Malay habit. In 1843 Ahmad Taju'd-din seized Krian claiming it to be a province of

his State. Perak invoked the British for the assistance Low's treaty had pledged in 1826, whereupon the Governor warned Sultan Shahabu'd-din not to use force against his aggressor, advised Ahmad Taju'd-din to relinquish an insupportable claim and asked the Chau Phya of Ligor to remonstrate! Ahmad Taju'd-din was informed that his Pinang annuity of $10,000 would be withheld till he had kept the peace for a year. At last in 1848 he retired from Krian at the threat that the British would expel him by force. Soon afterwards he died: by July 1850 Colonel Blundell was addressing his successor, Sultan Zain-al-Rashid Shah.

The boundary of Province Wellesley; a letter introducing Logan and asking the Sultan to find that scholar a negrito; the recapture of eight Bengal convicts; the high price charged by Kedah Chinese for bamboos for rafts; pirates Chinese and Malay; the mutual rendition of fugitive criminals,—these were the topics of correspondence between the British and Sultan Zain-al-Rashid. Blundell procured His Highness a sword from Bengal; and in 1852 asked for a complete suit of Malay armour, chain-coat and weapons for Queen Victoria. On 10 May 1854 Ahmad Taju'd-din Mukarram Shah announced the death of his father at the age of fifty-one and his own accession to the Kedah throne. The new Sultan sent his young brothers to learn English in Singapore. Still there was correspondence about the passage of undesirable persons across the Kedah frontier, and the Governor threatened to deduct the cost of policing it from the Sultan's Pinang annuity. In 1867 there was a dispute over the boundary and the Pinang annuity had been stopped. In September 1867 there was drafted a treaty concluded in 1868 between Governor Ord and the Sultan, which defined the common boundary and fixed the scale of export duty on provisions wanted for Pinang, "in consideration of which agreement the Government engages to continue to the Raja of Kedah the payment of his annuity at present suspended and to pay such arrears as may have accumulated thereon." The home authorities found the treaty irregular in form and substituted for it the treaty of 6 May 1869 practically identical in content but contracted between Great Britain and Siam. In 1867 Tengku Ziau'd-din, brother of the Sultan, married the daughter of the

Sultan of Selangor and was created viceroy of that State. In 1871 we find the Sultan declaring that his meeting with Sultan 'Ali of Muar had been social only and there had been no talk of designs against Johore. In 1874 he is ready to meet the Governor to discuss a ferry service at Permatang Bendahari and a road from Province Wellesley to Selama. On 28 December 1875 Governor Jervois wrote to Sultan Ahmad Taju'd-din about the escape of ex-Sultan Isma'il and his followers from Perak: the ruler of Kedah promised not to let them enter his State or if they did enter, to apprehend them and on 14 March 1876 at Kitare he met Isma'il with his 174 followers and 27 elephants and had them conveyed to Pinang.

With the advent of British protection for Perak and Selangor and the adoption of more modern methods of administration by Siam, Kedah now entered a period of peace and prosperity. Until the present century Siam interfered little in the government, only requiring the Sultan to refer matters of importance and applications for land from foreigners. In 1905, however, Malay administration compelling the Sultan to negotiate for a loan of $2,600,000 to avoid bankruptcy, Siam appointed an Adviser to superintend financial and general administration. In the same year Sultan 'Abdu'l-Hamid Halimshah appointed a State Council.

iii.

PINANG'S RELATIONS WITH PERAK, KELANTAN AND TRENGGANU.

Not in Kedah only did Siam cause the Pinang government anxiety. In 1816 it ordered Kedah to conquer Perak. The Sultan of Perak asked the Governor of Pinang for two ships of war and 2,000 troops, half of them to be Europeans, but in spite of the damage to its tin trade the East India Company refused to intervene beyond trying to persuade His Highness to kiss the rod and despatch tribute to Siam, and seizing the occasion to get him to enter into an engagement never to grant monopolies to any one. By 1818 Kedah had conquered Perak, making her tributary to Siam until in 1822 in return for half the duty on her tin Selangor helped her to throw off the yoke. During the next three years, Perak played off Selangor against Siam and Siam against Selangor

and only when Governor Fullerton acting against orders from the Indian government threatened Siam with war, were the two Malay States saved from cruel invasion such as had overtaken Kedah. In 1825 a draft treaty signed by Burney and the Chau Phya of Ligor engaged firstly that the Siamese should neither attack nor colonize Perak and Selangor, secondly that the British should not occupy Perak but merely prevent Selangor from disturbing her peace and thirdly that whether or not Golden Flowers should be sent to Bangkok was a matter for the Sultan of Perak—who being "a very insignificant person and under great apprehension" left the decision to Fullerton. The Indian government approved of the draft treaty and sent Burney back to Bangkok on a "complimentary" mission with a commercial treaty and the safeguarding of the independence of the Malay States as secondary objects. Siam claimed no suzerainty over Selangor and inadvertently admitted that before the conquest of 1818 she had had no right over Perak. Burney pressed the claims of the British as inheritors of Dutch treaty rights, and his final treaty of 1826 stipulated "that the Raja of Perak shall govern his country according to its own will. Should he desire to send the gold and silver flowers to Siam, the English will not prevent his doing as he may desire. If Chau Phya of Ligor desires to send down to Perak, with friendly intentions, forty or fifty men, whether Siamese, Chinese or other Asiatic subjects of Siam, or if the Raja of Perak desires to send any of his ministers or officers to seek Chau Phya of Ligor, the English shall not forbid them. The Siamese or English shall not send any force to go and molest, attack or disturb Perak. The English will not allow the State of Selangor to attack or disturb Perak, and the Siamese shall not go and attack or disturb Selangor." This seemed satisfactory but the Chau Phya continued to send "embassies" which treated the Sultan of Perak as a conquered vassal, so that Fullerton threatened the Chau Phya with war and despatched a British "embassy" consisting of Captain Low and forty sepoys in a cruiser to warn the Siamese to quit Perak, to advise the Sultan to write a letter disavowing any intention of sending Golden Flowers to Bangkok and to reiterate the usual vague promise of England's help in case of Siamese aggression. On these instructions Low not only got the Sultan to

dismiss all the Malay chiefs with whom Ligor was tampering, but he signed a treaty that the British would assist the Sultan to expel any Siamese or Malays who might enter Perak with political views or for the purpose of interfering in any way with its government! "These measures" as Low complacently remarks, "secured the independence of Perak," and the Sultan highly delighted sent envoys to Pinang to borrow $10,000 and get 400 muskets on credit. His Highness also offered to cede Pangkor to the British but the Honourable Company, aghast at Low's treaty, declined the offer. Still Ligor sent embassies and tried to make Perak pay tribute, but the Sultan heartened by Low's treaty thought it unnecessary for a poor man like himself to wait on the Chau Phya and regretted that an elephant the Chau Phya wanted had died in captivity. His Highness also co-operated whole-heartedly with Low in burning down Kurau where lived a Nakhoda Udin supported by the Chau Phya as headman of a village that belonged to Kedah but denounced by the Pinang authorities as a pirate intimidating a village that belonged to Perak. Nakhoda Udin was captured and a government too worried for the saving grace of humour sent him as a Siamese subject to the Chau Phya for trial! The indignant Chau Phya talked over his whilom antagonist Burney, who informed the Supreme Government that Kurau was Siamese and Udin no pirate and got Low suspended from political employment. However Fullerton proved that in 1815 Burney had put up a map showing Kurau to be in Perak and had also advocated for Perak the very policy Low was suspended for pursuing. The Supreme Government climbed down and reinstated Low. Though his very name has been forgotten at Kuala Kangsar, Captain James Low was the saviour of Perak, risking his own career to save her from Siamese frightfulness, while along with him Perak should remember Robert Fullerton, Governor (1824–1830) of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore and Malacca, who inspired and defended the insubordination of Low.

Not only did the Burney treaty of 1826 attempt to define Siam's relations with Kedah, Perak and Selangor: it contained a

subtle clause on two East Coast States—" Siam shall not go and obstruct or interrupt commerce in the States of Tringano and Calantan. English merchants and subjects shall have trade and intercourse in future with the same facility and freedom as they have heretofore had, and the English shall not go and molest, attack or disturb those States upon any pretence whatever." What did this cautious phrasing mean? To the downright Fullerton it was anathema; to the Indian Government diplomatic and laudable: trade and politics go hand in hand, and trade, as India saw, might well provide in the future ample opportunities for making the two States British protectorates. Meanwhile it was better for Trengganu and Kelantan to continue to send the Golden Flowers to Bangkok than for Siam to take affront and invade them. After all, what did the Golden Flowers mean? Were they the tribute of vassal states or no more than the real flowers placed to-day by Asiatics at the foot of the statue to Sir Frank Swettenham in Kuala Lumpur, tokens of respect to a power remote but capable in certain contingencies of harm or help? It is only in certain contingencies that the language of diplomacy and the language of flowers get definitive interpretation. Not until 1862 was Burney's treaty tested and then it served. In that year Siam determined to remove Omar Sultan of Trengganu, who limited his recognition of Siam to the gift of the Golden Flowers, and to put on his throne the ex-Sultan of Lingga, Mahmud Muzaffar Shah, whom the Dutch had deposed. To the scandal of the Malay world the ex-Sultan sacrificed his Muslim sister in unlawful marriage to a Siamese Buddhist prince and would give more than Golden Flowers for a new throne; and so perhaps might Wan Ahmad, who was fighting his elder brother for the then independent throne of Pahang. Governor Cavanagh read in these happenings that interruption to British commerce for which Burney had provided: he demanded the removal of the ex-Sultan from Trengganu and not getting compliance bombarded the port. Siam protested against this attack on a tributary but removed the ex-Sultan to Bangkok, while Cavanagh continued to correspond direct with Trengganu and pooh-poohed Siam's claim to suzerainty.

iv.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF PINANG.

In its dreary relations with Siam, in defence of British trade and the northern Malay States, is written the record of Pinang's foreign policy. That record hardly touches its internal affairs.

Its founder, Francis Light, loved British trade, liked the Malays and hated the Dutch. In all this he resembled Raffles, whose energy and enthusiasm he also shared, though not his breadth, vision or experience. Light's original idea was to follow the bad old method of securing a factory and monopolies from the Sultan of Kedah. In this he was overruled by the East India Company, not from altruism but for business reasons, because the Company feared difficulties with the Dutch, was not prepared to spend money on ships and a garrison and could not determine if the Island would make a good naval base. The visit in 1797 of the forces intended for the conquest of Manila finally proved Pinang's worth, both as a naval base and as commanding the Malacca Straits and, so, the trade-route to China. In consequence, 1800 saw the acquisition of Province Wellesley to give complete control of Pinang harbour and to make Pinang independent of foreign food supplies; and 1805 saw it elevated from a Residency subject to the Governor of Bengal, into a Residency, like Bengal, Madras and Bombay only subject to the general control of the Governor-General of India. Its free trade with absence of import duties, Light's policy of letting settlers occupy such land as they could clear under promise of future title, these factors brought to the almost uninhabited island a large and varied population: British, Eurasians, Armenians, Chinese, Arabs, Indians, Malays, Bugis, Javanese, Burmese and Siamese. Its spice plantations were in due course large and profitable. Within three years of its foundation the total value of imports and exports was $853,592 and five years later this total had nearly doubled. Yet, with all this prosperity, the settlement was a dead loss to the Company, which by starving its child in infancy drove its nurse to perilous expedients. It would not provide an adequate staff nor would it follow Light's advice and pay its officials a living wage instead of letting them engage in trade. Light had no experience of administration. He alienated lan-

without any condition that lack of effective occupation would after a term of years involve resumption by the government. Large tracts were given to Europeans, including the servants of the Company; passing sea-captains and nomadic Malays were given concessions and Light himself appropriated large and valuable estates. Owing to the high death rate, many holdings came upon the market to be bought not by the government which had no funds but mostly by the firm of Light's friend, James Scott, which virtually had a monopoly of the import and export trade, kept the only bank and profited from money-lending to the entire community. No land was kept for public purposes. There was no land revenue. Until 1800 the revenue was derived from the farms of opium, arrack and gaming. In 1796 when the Government was casting about for fresh sources of revenue, the merchants opposed customs duties even on goods imported for Pinang consumption as likely to drive trade to the mainland opposite, a mere pirates' nest but a peg for their opposition; land on the mainland was acquired and a duty of 2% was imposed on imports of tin, pepper and betel-nuts but, as there were no customs officers, the collection of the duty was put up to auction and the highest bidder was Scott and Company, determined to obtain a dominant influence in the produce market. After one year, concerned for the interests of other merchants, government substituted an export duty on pepper and various local products.

Though within three years the population had risen to 10,000 Light had been left to preserve good order by imprisonment or other common punishments, but he was not allowed to deal with murder or offences by British subjects. Asiatic headmen tried cases for members of their own communities, and when instructions for the administration of justice arrived in 1800 along with a Lieutenant-Governor, they laid down that the law of Pinang was to be not British law modified to suit local conditions but "the laws of the different peoples and tribes of which the inhabitants consist, tempered by such parts of British law as are of universal application!" In 1801 the first professional judge, Mr. Dickens (uncle of the novelist), found the only law in force to be the law of nature and in two cases when he applied the English

Statute of Frauds he was overruled by the Lieutenant-Governor. There was no legislation covering wills, succession or inheritance. Not till 1807 did Pinang get a proper legal system. It had no public buildings except temporary structures for a customs house, a hospital and a gaol. There were no bridges outside Georgetown and its suburbs. There were no schools. The sick on the ships in the harbour had no nurses but convicts. On the top of this maladministration the Presidency of 1805 involved a Governor, three Resident Councillors, a Colonel, a Chaplain, with fifty or more other officials, of whom the Covenanted Civil Servants from India alone drew salaries amounting to £42,700 a year. Among the European officials was Thomas Stamford Raffles for whose receptive mind the free trade, the bad land system, the extravagant Presidency and the general inefficiency were unforgettable lessons drawn from his six years' sojourn at Pinang. The annual deficit now averaged £80,000 a year. Not however until 1826 when Singapore, Pinang and Malacca were combined to become a Presidency of India, were the heavy establishments pruned, Lord William Bentinck the Governor-General remarking that he could not see Pinang for the number of cocked hats. At the same time, 1829, Bentinck abolished the duties which handicapped the oldest of the Straits Settlements so heavily against young free-trade Singapore. In 1830 the Presidency was abolished and to their dismay the three Settlements became a Residency under the direction of the Governor and Council of Bengal, but not till 1832 was their capital transferred from Pinang to Singapore.

IX

MALACCA AND THE ADJOINING STATES.

In 1793 Revolutionary France declared war on England and attacked England's ally Holland. In January 1794 the French occupied Holland: the Stadtholder fled to England and the Batavian Republic was established. On 16 May 1795 by the Treaty of the Hague the Batavian and French Republics concluded an offensive and defensive alliance. Holland thus entered the war against England. Dutch colonies were now virtually French colonies: in the East Indies every Dutch port was now in effect a French port, a refuge for French warships or a base for French attacks on British trade and territory. It was therefore necessary for England to take possession of Dutch ports where possible, which action she could and did justify by the plea that thereby she was safeguarding the rights and possessions of her ally, the Stadtholder. Accordingly the Dutch made no resistance, although there were Dutch patriots who thought that instructions from home should have been disregarded. However at Malacca the reception of the British officers by Governor Abrahamus Couperus was gracious. The day after the occupation he entertained them at dinner. "Madam Couperus was dressed in a mixture between the Malay and the Portuguese.... She seemed very affable and well-bred. In the evening she played on the harp and was accompanied by some of her slaves on violins. She chewed betel incessantly as did the other ladies in the company and every chair was furnished with a cuspidor." The Dutch Governor and the troops left, but "the council which was for the time being deemed indispensable for legal administration, was retained against its will." While free trade had attracted to Pinang some 20,000 inhabitants, Malacca backward in agriculture owing to a bad land system and suffering in trade from competition with Pinang had a population of some 15,000 only.

In 1802 as a result of the Peace of Amiens, Malacca was to have been restored to Holland, but war broke out again in Europe and the English Company still kept this rival settlement to Pinang, likely sooner or later to be given back to the Dutch. The Govérnor of Pinang proposed to the Court of Directors that

the fortifications should be levelled, the industrial population persuaded to remove to Pinang and the settlement abandoned. It took two years and cost thousands of pounds to demolish the historic fort with its towers and bastions of dark stone, its drawbridges, its moats, its earth ramparts and their iron caltrops. For three months, Munshi 'Abdu'llah tells us, the work of vandalism was carried out by coolies who fell sick for fear of the spirits haunting the ancient walls, so that wages rose to more than a rupee a day. Then for six days a gang of men excavated a hole on the sea-wall inserted gunpowder and laid a long wick, and one morning the Resident Councillor rode up on horseback torch in hand, and lit the wick and spurred his horse away. "And all those who had declared the fortifications could not be destroyed were silent and all the evil spirits generated only in their brains flew away, terrified of the smoke of the explosion. And the glory of Malacca had departed like the glory from the face of a woman whose husband has died." Even stores and ordnance were removed to Pinang. And then in 1808 a young Pinang official, Thomas Stamford Raffles, half scholar half merchant, came on a holiday to a place in which Malay research had interested him. Careless of rebuff and full of the restless energy that marked his career, the youngster of twenty-seven wrote an unsolicited report for his chiefs at Pinang. He could not peep into the future or realize that a silting harbour, steam and vastly increased tonnage would make Malacca a poor port, but he saw that in his day, if the British left, others would be quick to occupy it, to the detriment not only of Pinang but of the China trade. Moreover behind it were the blue hills of an unexplored Eldorado. And Malacca itself—"from the antiquity and former celebrity of the place it follows that the country is well cultivated and that valuable buildings, public and private, have been erected by the inhabitants." Those same inhabitants were cheerful tax-payers and the revenues were never in arrear. And then he struck that higher humanitarian note which has rightly made even the Dutch admire him in spite of tactics that in the fashion of his day he employed against their interests. "The natives," he pleaded, "consider the British faith as pledged for their protection. When the settlement fell into the hands of the English, they were invited to remain; protection and even

encouragement were offered them." India House entertained a favourable sense of the talents of the young official. Malacca was saved, to see Lord Minto lead the Java expedition from its shore, to see another Naning war as it had seen them in the days of Portuguese and Dutch, and after a century to have its shabby aristocratic gentility rehabilitated by the profits on para rubber. After Napoleon's downfall, the Convention of London, of 13 August 1814, stipulated for the retrocession of the settlement, but the Dutch, engaged with occupying Riau, did not take it back till 21 September 1818 and then in 1824 by the treaty of Holland "the Town and" non-existent "Fort of Malacca and its Dependencies" were ceded to His Britannic Majesty, and His Netherland Majesty engaged never to form any establishment on any part of the Peninsula or to conclude any treaty with any part of the Peninsula or to conclude any treaty with any native prince, chief or state therein. Alas! in the near future the cession of Malacca was to cost the Company nearly as much shame and more money than the cession of Pinang had cost.

As in Pinang there was a difficult land problem. Large tracts were in the hands of a few Dutch Proprietors, who held them under a form of tenure inherited from the Portuguese who in turn had inherited it from the Sultans of Malacca. Government had given them the old Malay royal privilege of allowing whom they liked to occupy their land on payment of a tenth of the produce to the Proprietor or his nominee, generally a Chinese farmer who had paid a lump sum for the right to collect the tithe. But Government and not the Proprietor was owner of the land nor could the Proprietor evict a tenant his assignee or mortgagee as long as he paid the tithe. Apparently the Dutch Company had hoped that the Proprietors would encourage the planting of foodstuffs and other produce whereas actually their extortionate Chinese collectors made the way of the agriculturist hard. Clearly as landlord the Government was justified in compensating the Proprietors for the loss of their titles and abolishing the middleman between itself and the cultivators. Agriculture would then flourish and take the place of a commerce that had passed to Pinang and Singapore. The Government redeemed the Proprietors' rights for

annual pensions that came to less than £2,000. Then the Government retaining the old system of tenure for cultivated lands decided that for lands alienated after 1830 grants and leases should be issued in accordance with English law. But there were no surveyors and in a few years no one knew what plots were held under the old and what under the new dispensation! The Recorder pronounced the new land rules illegal and discredited the leases issued. The Malays resisted an effort to make them pay in cash instead of produce. The Dutch Proprietors intrigued. Agriculture was at a standstill. The Land Revenue was less than the cost of the Land Department and the Proprietors' pensions. The Malacca land problem was not solved till the eighties when Sir Frederick Weld introduced the Torrens system which requires the registration in a government office of all instruments dealing with titles.

Then there was the Naning war. In 1801 as stewards of the Dutch, the English had followed the obsolescent tactics of making a treaty with 'du'l-Sayid, Captain Penghulu of Naning, for a monopoly of all tin coming there from Sri Menanti, Sungai Ujong, Rembau and other places, for a monopoly of pepper "whenever any great quantity" was to be had, and for the delivery of one-tenth of its rice and fruit crops, though in consideration of its indigence the Company agreed to be content with Naning's annual homage and 400 *gantang* of rice. It was a bad treaty, and, if the Dutch returned, voidable by the Malays who had signed an earlier treaty of similar import with the Hollanders, and it was to be a *damnosa hereditas*. "European governments do not make treaties with their own subjects" and the British had made the 1801 treaty to control the foreign relations and secure the domestic peace of a neighbouring *semi-independent* tribute state. Had Governor Fullerton, that vigorous stickler for legal principles, kept his eye open to this elementary principle of international law and had he waited to discover that the Dutch had never exercised any right of alienating land in Naning as they had in Malacca, the East India Company would have been saved the expenditure of £100,000 on a ludicrous and humiliating campaign against the ragged creeses and rusty muskets of a few hundred Minangkabaus. But Fullerton the able progressive rather

headstrong Governor was cursed with a headstrong Superintendent of Lands at Malacca, Mr. Lewis, a man as eager as himself to spread British influence. Lewis told Fullerton that Naning was part of the territory of Malacca, and as Garling Malacca's Resident Councillor protested at the time, Lewis told Fullerton wrong. For six months Fullerton hesitated. Then Lewis dilated on the loss of revenue due to the remission of the tithe on a rice-crop which he estimated at a million and a quarter *gantang* and he proposed to bribe the Penghulu and chiefs with allowances to become British tax-collectors. The chiefs refused. Lewis sent his own tax-collectors who were forced to ask for military protection. The Pinang Council sceptical of the Company's right to the tithe advised delay. Just then the Penghulu of Naning heard a murder case and fined the family of the *victim!* In spite of the advice of his most experienced officials Fullerton was persuaded that legally the Naning chiefs were no more than tax-collectors and village constables. He decided however to await the death of 'Abdu'l-Sayid (the friendly treaty-maker of 1801) before taking away the Penghulu's judicial powers and handing them over to Malacca's newly constituted court of judicature and he decided to refer the question of the tithe to the Directors. The Penghulu refused to meet the Governor and obstructed a census by the Malacca Land Department. In July 1829 Fullerton sent Church, Deputy-Resident of Malacca, with a guard of sepoys to allay fears instilled into 'Abdu'l-Sayid by designing Dutch merchants at Malacca who were anxious to reap the profits of a war. Church was to tell the Penghulu that the Company had no designs on his liberty and that the collection of the tithe was deferred, though not finally dropped, and he was to avoid reference to the chief's powers of jurisdiction. So successful was this mission that 'Abdu'l-Sayid recovered from what he himself described as his "state of terror" and allowed the census, but by the end of 1829 other and sinister counsellors prevailed with him; he refused to meet the Governor at Malacca, and Naning prepared for war. Fullerton collected a military force to invade Naning and then, as his Councillors disagreed with his policy, stayed action for the Supreme Government to decide. 'Abdu'l-Sayid, convinced that the Governor's vacillation was due to fear, seized the fruit of certain trees claimed by Surin, a

Malay Proprietor in Malacca territory. The new Governor, Ibbetson, referred this problem also to the Indian Government. In June 1830 the Directors instructed the Governor (wrongly) that the Company possessed sovereign rights over Naning and could legally collect tithes and exercise judicial powers within its borders but, to avoid war, the assertion of these rights was to be deferred. Misled by Lewis Ibbetson answered that things had gone too far for inaction and that unless 'Abdu'l-Sayid were now forced to pay the tithe, the Malays in Malacca territory would also refuse to pay the tithes on their produce, which took the place of a land-tax. The Supreme Government left the solution to the Governor. 'Abdu'l-Sayid now demanded absolute independence. So in July 1831 150 sepoys with two six-pounders dragged by bullocks were despatched to Naning but were bogged and had their retreat impeded by the felling of trees in their rear, so that with guns lost and heavy baggage destroyed the red-coats had to retire "expeditiously" to Malacca. Persuaded that the British would attack Rembau also and supplant him, its Underking Raja 'Ali had sent his son-in-law, Sayid Sha'ban (the only brain of this and the subsequent campaign) to help Naning, and, that object effected, Sayid Sha'ban had accepted $500 to allow the British force to retreat! Victorious, 'Abdu'l-Sayid wrote to Malacca complaining that the Assistant Resident had come with sepoys and shot down a Captain (Panglima) who had been sent as an honorary escort to receive him! Actually clad in scarlet broad-cloth, brandishing a spear and whirling a sling, the Panglima had danced derisively before the British guns and having stood two rounds of grape was hit by a third in the midst of a demivolte. A "dignified reply" was sent to 'Abdu'l-Sayid inviting him to come to Malacca! In that town "fear whispered that every bush concealed a Malay and converted every stick into a musket barrel." On the grave of his Panglima, 'Abdu'l-Sayid sacrificed six out of seven convicts captured during the "war," keeping the seventh to read him the Kuran. He also proceeded to fine every Malacca village within his reach twenty reals. And on 24 October, he and his chiefs wrote to the King of England, complaining of the doings of the Malacca government.

Too late the Malacca officials at last discovered in the archives that since 1765 the Dutch had commuted the tithe into nominal tribute! Angry as Bengal was, it recognized that war was inevitable, and, to frustrate any Minangkabau coalition, it approved of a rapprochement with "ruffianly, half-clothed and poverty-stricken" chiefs of Rembau, as Captain Begbie, an eye-witness, described them. The Company wanted no more territory. So two treaties followed, one dated 30 November 1831 and the other 28 January 1832 and it was agreed that "the Rembau government will be at liberty to rule within its own territories according to the laws and usages of that country" and the British and Rembau were never to attack each other or take possession of the territory of each other. $1,000 was offered for the apprehension of 'du'l-Sayid, dead or alive, and after the rains, in March 1832 a fresh force of over a thousand men set out from Malacca. That retreat this time might not be impeded by the felling of trees, the Commander, Colonel Herbert, had a road 600 feet wide cut at the rate of three or four miles a month over the twenty-two miles of country to Naning's capital, Taboh. Casualties on both sides were negligible but even a jinjal shot caused the troops to stand to arms till daybreak and the Colonel was very nervous and talked of "troops knocked up" and of acting on the defensive against any enemy who, had he known it, never numbered more than one hundred men. 'Abdu'l-Sayid threatened to hamstring all the buffaloes of any one supplying carriage to the British troops. However at the end of April, impressed by the inevitable if caterpillar advance of the British, Raja 'Ali sent from Rembau Sayid Sha'ban and a force of Malays. Sayid Sha'ban's spies had knowledge of the enemy's sporadic energy so that he could descend on deserted stockades and capture them. Thanks to this "petty chief," on June 15 Taboh the principal village was taken by surprise, 'Abdu'l-Sayid's dinner being left untouched on his mat. The Naning defence was broken.

Diffident about assuming the administration of the State, the Company first offered Naning to the Yam-tuan Muda of Rembau, Raja 'Ali who respectfully declined. So the Company included it in Malacca territory, abolished (temporarily) the posts of

Penghulu and tribal headmen and appointed a Dutch gentleman, Mr. Westerhout, as Superintendent to collect tithes and see that criminal cases were sent to the Recorder's court. In 1833 the revenue was $762 and the expenditure $463; in 1835 the figures were $1,240 and $490! Promised a pardon 'Abdu'l-Sayid surrendered in 1834 and was given a house and garden with a pension of $100 a month on condition that he did not leave Malacca. He lived there until August 1849 when he died esteemed as a medicine-man. He took to shoes and a buggy and bought rice-fields and jewellery for his women-folk. It is not surprising that this generous treatment of a defeated foe impressed the Malays of the inland states more than the British conduct of the Naning wars.

The Naning war had repercussions in Negri Sembilan. Assured of British good-will and not impressed with British punitive measures, Raja 'Ali the Bugis Underking of Rembau promoted himself Yam-tuan Besar of Negri Sembilan and Sayid Sha'ban Underking of Rembau. But one Muhammad Katas, To' Muda of Linggi, the little fifty year old colony from Riau, was an enemy of Sayid Sha'ban and fighting began. The Penghulu or chief of the Rembau Minangkabau tribes stood aloof, whereupon Sayid Sha'ban sent a band to surprise and kill him. Rembau and Sungai Ujong declared war on Raja 'Ali and Sayid Sha'ban and drove them out. In spite of their aid during the Naning war, the British refused to help the refugees except by giving the Sayid a home in Malacca and a pension on condition that he stayed quiet. Had not the Naning war cost £100,000? Even when a quarrel between Muhammad Katas chief of Linggi and the Dato' Klana, chief of Sungai Ujong, led to the blockade of the Linggi river and the stoppage of their tin trade, the British took no action other than prohibiting Malacca merchants to sell arms to either side. In the fifties when "illegal" robbers, copying the Dutch methods of blockade, built forts and exacted tolls on the Linggi river, Governor Butterworth dared not put a few round shots into their flimsy block-houses, and Malacca trade suffered, until in 1855 the To' Klana surprised the worst offender, Lebai Kulop, at Simpang, by using the British flag, a ruse that evoked strong gubernatorial expostulation. The Governor now issued a

notice in the name of the Governor-General of Bengal prohibiting the erection of stockades on the Linggi and Ujong rivers and talked of sending a gun-boat to ensure that the notice was observed, but still the "illegal" collection of tax and toll continued. In 1865 the Penghulu of Johol offered Gemencheh to the British if they would oust the local headman, but the British wanted no extension of territory.

X

SINGAPORE AND JOHOR.

Peril stood beside the cradle of the new settlement (p. 172 *supra*), Raffles' "political child." There was the danger that the Dutch might resent the loss of a potential source of tradesman's profit and the danger that the English might abandon a potential source of tradesman's loss.

Hardly had the child been born when the Malay chiefs wrote clandestinely to Malacca and Riau explaining that Raffles and Farquhar had taken initiative out of their hands by landing soldiers and stores and that Tengku Husain, who had hurried to safeguard his son, then on the island, had been seized by Raffles and installed as Sultan of Singapore: "at the same time we in no way separate ourselves from the Dutch." The best letter was from the Bendahara, who expressed to Timmerman Thyssen, Governor of Malacca, amazement that the inscrutable Creator had parted brother from brother and friend from friend, declaring the cryptic intention of being a friend to the friends of the Raja of Johor and requesting that a large bottle of rose-water should be sent to him in Pahang! The Malays had heard of Raffles' justice and fairness in Java but the English seemed unable to hold their own and for centuries had abandoned one settlement after another in Malayan waters. And now had not Timmerman Thyssen declared that given 600 troops he would attack Singapore? and was not Batavia sending those troops? To the Malay mind it was obviously an occasion for finesse. But like all Europeans, the English just as they called maritime warfare piracy, called diplomacy intrigue, and Farquhar, left as Resident in charge of Singapore, made Sultan and Temenggong sign a declaration that their letters to Riau and Malacca had been prompted solely by fear of Dutch vengeance and that Raffles' political child was not the offspring of rape:—its scrupulous begetter had advised Farquhar to make friends with Pahang and Trengganu also by selling them arms, so as to keep out the Hollanders!

Timmerman Thyssen did not attack Singapore but he wrote to Colonel Bannerman, Governor of Pinang, calling attention to the treaty Riau had concluded with the Dutch on 26 November

1818 (p. 170 *supra*). Bannerman, as a gentleman with some local knowledge, had advised Bengal, before Raffles reached Singapore, that Dutch rights over Riau were indisputable. As an administrator he was proud of Pinang, resented the birth of a rival settlement and by temperament disliked Raffles the restless man of ideas, who ought to be at Bencoolen and not trespassing with an independent commission in the sphere of a brother officer. As a soldier he knew Holland's resources and he was of the type dear to Confucius, not ready to face a tiger with his bare hands but never likely to be caught by a tiger weaponless: his mind's eye saw "the ultimate and forced submission" of any force he could despatch to Singapore "tarnishing the national honour infinitely more seriously than the degradation which would ensue from the retreat of the small party" Farquhar had at the new settlement. The Colonel therefore begged Thyssen to join with him "in deprecating any such violent measure on the part of the Java government as would lead to a cruel effusion of blood and excite a collision between Great Britain and Holland." He, a Colonel, reminded Major Farquhar that the Singapore undertaking was in violation of the orders of the Supreme Government; in view of the Malay chiefs' "recantation" to Riau and Malacca, he refused to invite overwhelming Dutch aggression by sending to Singapore such small military forces as Pinang could spare, and though a soldier he unequivocally declared that Farquhar's personal honour was "in no way implicated in the present occasion to render the shedding of blood necessary." In the same strain Bannerman wrote to Lord Hastings the Governor-General, adding rabidly and unfairly that Raffles had scuttled off to Acheh "like a man who sets a house on fire and then runs away." Furthermore, knowing that the Company kept its moral sense in its pocket, he pointed out that as much as $15,000 had been spent in Singapore in less than forty days. But in the first place Lord Hastings had been responsible for Raffles' quest of a settlement and was responsible for his hurried visit to Acheh and in the second Bannerman's obvious jealousy made his views untrustworthy. On 8 April 1819 the Supreme Government of Bengal informed the Colonel "we think your government entirely wrong in determining so broadly against the propriety of the step taken by Sir Thomas Raffles;

the opposition of the Dutch was not of the nature which we had directed to be shunned under the description of collision. The ground on which Sir Thomas Raffles stood was this, that Singapore was never mentioned in the Treaty between the Sultan of Johore and the Dutch. The supposition that it was included in the general term of dependencies is one of those gratuitous assumptions which merit no consideration. We fear you would have difficulty in excusing yourselves should the Dutch be tempted to violence against that Post. The jealousy of it, should misfortune occur and be traceable to neglect originating in such a feeling, will find no tolerance with Government, who must be satisfied (which is not now the case) that perseverance in maintaining the Post would be an infraction of equity, before they can consent to abandon it." In long and exuberant despatches Raffles had primed the noble lord about the advantages of his Malta of the East, and to the Dutch the noble diplomat adopted a conciliatory tone:—"Sir Thomas Raffles has not sufficiently explained to us why he proceeded to Singapore after learning the extent of the pretensions advanced by your agent at Malacca. A strict attention to our instructions would have induced him to avoid the possibility of collision with the Netherland authorities on any point, and so sincere is our desire to bar the way to any altercations with your government that the occupation of Singapore has been to us a matter of unfeigned regret. In fact after being acquainted with the extent of the pretensions advanced on the part of your nation, and before we knew of the existence of a factory at Singapore, we had issued instructions to Sir T. S. Raffles directing him, if our orders arrived in time, to desist from every attempt to form a British establishment in the Eastern Archipelago." But withdrawal would mean "subscribing to the rights which you claim, and of which we are not satisfied, thereby awkwardly forestalling the judgment which was to have taken place at home." In August 1819 the home Secret Committee gave its views. Raffles had contravened his instructions in letter and in spirit. If the Dutch expelled the Singapore garrison, England must submit in silence or hazard another European war. Raffles had failed to make out the title of the chief from whom he had acquired the island and should have referred the Dutch claim to Bengal instead of leaving it for His Majesty's ministers

to maintain him in possessions he had thought proper to occupy. Raffles was impenitent. "The more I am opposed, the more my views are thwarted, destroyed and counteracted, the firmer do I stand in my own opinion; for I am confident I am right.... It is not impossible the ministry may be weak enough to abandon Singapore, and to sacrifice me, *honour* and the Eastern Archipelago, to the outrageous pretensions of the Dutch." In actual fact, the English had two good grounds for holding Singapore, even though the installation of Sultan Husain was a ruse justifiable only in the eyes of Raffles to whom what was right in his own eyes was always absolutely right, whether it was the right of personal liberty or the right of primogeniture. When handing over Malacca in 1795, the Dutch seem undoubtedly and for good reason to have declared that Riau, Lingga, Johor and Pahang were not their dependencies. And on that ground, Farquhar on 19 August 1818 had contracted a treaty with Riau, which though it contained no clause excluding their trade the Dutch treated with contempt and flagrantly violated by their later treaty of 26 November 1818, a treaty enforced by the menace of a large naval force and stipulating for a Dutch monopoly. Admitted that the Farquhar treaty was due to an exaggerated representation of Dutch policy conveyed by Raffles and himself, yet everywhere Raffles had found among his trade rivals "a steady determination to lower the British character in the eyes of the natives," and was there any great difference between the taking of Riau prophesied by Raffles and Farquhar and the actual happenings of that 26 November? Controversy raged until the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1824, but long before then the amazing growth of Raffles' political child had convinced India House not only of the commercial but even of the moral value of Singapore.

On 6 February 1819, Singapore's natal day, there were on the island a few Chinese gambir plantations, a few pagan Malays ancestors of those that now dive for coins in the docks, and some hundred and fifty Malay followers of the Temenggong. So humble a place that in March Raffles sent from Pinang building materials, tools and changkuls worth $2,143 and provisions, ghee, biscuits and bullocks worth $3,384. Every Monday at 10 a.m. the Sultan and Temenggong (or their deputies) met Farquhar the Resident at a

court in the Temenggong's yard in order to listen to petitions a grievances and decide on proclamations: the consent of all three was required for the imposition of customs and duties and the establishment of farms. With the examples of Pinang and Bencoolen before him Raffles kept the cost of administration low. By June 1819 the influx of Chinese, Bugis and Malacca Malays had raised the population to 5,000, and a year later it had doubled. On April 3, 1820 Raffles, who saw Singapore only at its founding and on his visit in 1822, wrote from Bencoolen that "Singapore continues to thrive beyond all calculation. The exports and imports even by native boats alone exceed four millions of dollars in the year." A few days earlier Farquhar had written to him, "To look at our harbour just now, where upwards of twenty junks, three of which are from China and two from Cochin China, the rest from Siam and other quarters, are at anchor, besides ships, brigs, prows, etc., etc., a person would naturally exclaim, surely this cannot be an establishment of only a twelve-month standing. One of the principal Chinese merchants here told me, that he would be very glad to give five hundred thousand dollars for the revenues of Singapore five years hence." Actually in 1825 while the trade of Malacca stood at just over three hundred thousand pounds and that of Pinang at just over a million pounds, the trade of Singapore was estimated at £2,610,440. So rich were the fruits of free trade at a port on the main route to China and convenient to the Malay Archipelago, a port destined to rank among the ten greatest in the world.

In October 1822 Raffles came on his last visit to Singapore. Lawlessness was still rife. On 11 March 1823 Farquhar was stabbed by an Arab who had run amuck but so suspicious were the times that the commander of the sepoys trained his guns on the Temenggong's quarters and would have fired had not Raffles counselled enquiry. Farquhar had done good work but the rapid growth of the port had outgrown his town-planning and he had an old-fashioned predilection for permitting gaming and cockpits and he owned slaves. Actually, as Singapore records show, Raffles' own town-planning included alienating the valuable sea-front on the vaguest of titles and instructing Farquhar to reserve half th

s for Raffles, and his friends and relations! Self-satisfied as usual, Raffles wrote describing how he spent his visit in "remodelling and laying out my new city and in establishing institutions and laws for its future constitution; a pleasant duty enough in England, where you have books, hard heads and lawyers to refer to, but here, by no means easy, where all must depend on my own judgment and foresight. Nevertheless I hope that, though Singapore may be the first capital established in the nineteenth century, it will not disgrace the highest period of it." He drafted regulations for a land registry, rules for the port "whose trade is open to ships and vessels of every nation free of duty, equally and alike to all," regulations for police and magistracy, for the suppression of gaming-houses and cockpits, for the prevention of slave trade and for the establishment of an Institution "having for its object the cultivation of the languages of China, Siam and the Malayan Archipelago and the improvement of the moral and intellectual condition of the inhabitants of those countries." To a friend Raffles wrote: "I have had everything to new-mould from first to last; to introduce a system of energy, purity and encouragement.... Singapore is now, perhaps, the only place in India where slavery cannot exist." To Fort William he reported that "we cannot do better than apply the general principles of British law to all, equally and alike, without distinction of tribe or nation, under such modifications only as local circumstances and peculiarities, and a due consideration for the weakness and prejudices of the native part of the population, may from time to time suggest.... Something like a code, which shall explain in a few words what is considered a crime and what is the punishment attached to it, seems indispensable." But until 1826 legal chaos prevailed, Mr. Crawfurd who became the second Resident in succession to Farquhar administering Chinese and Malay law but having no power over Europeans.

Before his departure for ever on 6 June 1823 Raffles arranged for the Sultan to receive in future $1,500 a month and the Temenggong $800, Their Highnesses to forego their monopolies of certain timbers and all claims to presents and customs from Chinese junks and Chinese generally and to put the whole of Singapore

outside their own demesnes at the disposal of the British. In the presence of Raffles and the Temenggong, Sultan Husain handed an English flag to the Penghulu of Johor Lama to fly in order to protect it from occupation by Holland's allies at Riau but after Raffles' departure Bengal instructed Crawfurd to strike the flag and later the flags of Sultan 'Abdu'r-Rahman of Lingga and of the Dutch were hoisted. Pahang, too, assured Sultan 'Abdu'r-Rahman, distant and unassertive, of its allegiance. All these difficulties between England and Holland were settled by the treaty of London on 17 March 1824. Holland ceded Malacca to Great Britain, agreeing never to establish a settlement in the Malay Peninsula or make treaties with its Malay chiefs; and while Great Britain agreed never to establish settlements on the Carimons, Batam, Riau, Lingga or other islands to the south of Singapore Straits, Holland gave up all claim to Raffles' "political child." Crawfurd reported that even Sultan 'Abdu'r-Rahman admitted the Temenggong's ownership of Bulang and the Carimons (Kĕrimun), but under Dutch influence 'Abdu'r-Rahman soon claimed them, and when there was fighting at the Carimons between the followers of the brother Sultans, the English disclaimed all responsibility for the movements of Sultan Husain outside Singapore and let Resident Elout hoist the Dutch flag. "Brother had been parted from brother" politically for ever.

On 2 August 1824 a final treaty was concluded by which Sultan Husain and Temenggong 'Abdu'r-Rahman alienated Singapore for ever to the British and became private residents on the island. Munshi 'Abdu'llah declares that Crawfurd only got their signatures by delaying the payment of their monthly allowances! The Sultan was to receive $33,200 and a stipend of $1,300 for life and the Temenggong $26,800 and a stipend of $700 for life. The Malay chiefs were to enter into no alliance with any foreign power without the consent of the East India Company, to maintain a free and unshackled trade within their dominions and to admit the trade and traffic of the British nation into all the ports and harbours of the kingdom of Johor on the terms of the most favoured nation.

Temenggong 'Abdu'r-Rahman died on 8 December 1825 and was succeeded by his able son Tun Ibrahim (or Daing Ronggek)

who still lived at Teluk Blanga but made a fortune by monopolizing the gutta percha forests of Johor. Sultan Husain did not die until 5 September 1835. Munshi 'Abdu'llah has left a picture of his small neckless head, his pot belly, his thin legs, his awful husky voice and his habit of falling asleep whenever he sat down. His indolence and extravagance forced his abler wife to get a Tamil friend, 'Abdu'l-Kadir, to manage the royal purse. Infuriated by the Tamil's economies, the Sultan's dependents started a scandal about the Tamil and his royal mistress, which drove Husain to remove to Malacca. There the Tamil was given a title and married to a daughter of the Sultan. When the Sultan died at Malacca, the burial service was read by a Muslim Tamil. In 1835 Husain's heir, Tengku 'Ali, was too young to clamour for recognition as Sultan. At that time Governor Murchison reported to Bengal that "the late Sultan was never recognized by the Malay States as Sultan of Johore and enjoyed neither revenue nor political sway in that country. He was pronounced Sultan by the British but it was for a particular object, and no reason now exists for the recognition of a mere titular prince." In 1840 a proclamation was issued that 'Ali "is looked upon by the British Government in every respect as the successor of his late father and entitled to all the property granted to the late Sultan by the East India Company" at Singapore. This was construed by the Supreme Court to recognize 'Ali's right to property and not to the Sultanate, though Bonham, Governor from 1837 till 1843, actually asked the Raja Bendahara of Pahang to instal 'Ali as Sultan in accordance with the custom of the old Johor empire. But in 1847 'Ali was still petitioning Bengal for recognition. Down to 1835 when the failure of Singapore spice plantations caused Chinese to open up gambir and pepper estates in Johor, the revenue from that State had been infinitestimal, but now about £800 a year was offered for its opium-farm, a sum Bonham's successor, Colonel Butterworth, thought should be divided equally between Sultan and Temenggong. Butterworth also thought he could induce the Bendahara of Pahang and the Temenggong to accede to the formal installation of 'Ali but he pointed out that in the cession of Singapore Temenggong 'Abdu'r-Rahman had been "the chief, I may say, the only negotiator" and Sultan Husain

a mere figure-head and that not only had the Temenggong controlled Johor ever since 1819 but 'Ali was unfit to rule, while to create him Sultan would involve an increase to his pittance of $115 a month or about £300 a year. The Directors decided: "unless compelled by positive engagement, we see no reason for your acknowledging a successor to this merely titular dignity." Then in 1852 Mr. E. A. Blundell officiated as Governor and though he admitted the superior capabilities of the Temenggong, he was "impressed with the injustice of disregarding the claims of the son of the prince from whom we obtained the island of Singapore, simply because it is less troublesome and perhaps more advantageous to us." The Indian Government retorted that neither the Treaty of 1819 nor that of 1824 bound the Company to interfere in the internal affairs of Johor, and it was not prepared to be involved in dissensions. In January 1853 Blundell wrote again, saying that he had arranged for the Temenggong to instal 'Ali as Sultan and pay him half the revenue of Johor, with the stipulation that 'Ali was never to interfere in the government. Half the revenue had been fixed at $300 a month for three years, after which it was to be revised. The Indian Government disapproved of this "meddling in the face of its instructions not to interfere." If however the Temenggong "should be willing to purchase entire sovereignty by a sacrifice of revenue in favour of the Sultan, I conceive the measure would be a beneficial one to all parties."

In 1854 Butterworth returned and in 1855 'Ali accepted a settlement less favourable to himself than that arranged by Blundell two years before. Instead of a pension to be revised every three years, he agreed in return for $5,000 Spanish dollars and an allowance of $500 a month to himself, his heirs and successors to cede the full sovereignty of Johor to His Highness Dato' Temenggong Daing Ibrahim Sri Maharaja, his heirs and successors for ever, reserving for his own house only sovereignty over the territory between the Kesang and Muar rivers, which he prized because some of his ancestors were there buried. Two views were taken of this treaty at the time according as its critics were partisans of the indolent indigent Sultan or partisans of the able and energetic Temenggong. The former stated in the Legislative Council that the Sultan was the victim of cajolery and even of threats and that

the Governor had exercised his power in favour of a personal predilection. The latter pointed out that Temenggong 'Abdu'r-Rahman had been in fact owner of Singapore and Johor, that the *de jure* suzerain (if legal rights were to be carefully observed) was not Raffles' puppet the Sultan of Singapore but his brother of Lingga, and Dutch and British spheres of influence had cut away Pahang and Johor from the old Lingga empire for ever and left them to the Bendahara and the Temenggong who were actually ruling on the spot. Moreover though Temenggong Ibrahim was a boy of fifteen at his father's death in 1825, never had Sultan Husain even then asserted any claim to Johor, while on this Sultan's death in 1835 the British refused for twenty years to recognise any successor to his throne. Only Governor Blundell, favouring the Kampong Glam family and looking for some way of supporting its members without cost to the Bengal Government, coerced Daing Ibrahim into recognising Tengku 'Ali as Sultan, paying His Highness a large sum in return for territory which the Temenggong already owned, and surrendering his possession of the Kesang territory to a Sultan who for some years at European instigation had encroached on the Temenggong's rights in Johor. Daing Ibrahim himself could not see why he should have to foot a bill which, if the claim were just, should be defrayed equally by Pahang as by Johor. On one occasion he abruptly left Blundell's* presence, requesting the Governor to

*Note.—Sultan 'Ali spent little time in his miniature kingdom. He organised no government and leased the collection of revenue to a Bugis whose agents were all shot or poisoned by the adherents of a local Temenggong Paduka Tuan whose ancestors since the beginning of the XVIIIth century had held undisputed possession under the Sultans and Temenggongs of Johor. Heavily indebted to a Tamil money-lender 'Ali gave him in 1862 the right to sell Muar to the British or any one else. In 1868 'Ali gave a power of attorney to an Indian schoolmaster, Babu Ramasamy, to collect the non-existent revenue. In 1875 he granted a concession over 45 square miles to an American. Nobody made any money or had an indefeasible title and on 20 June 1877 the irresponsible Sultan died at Umbai in Malacca heavily in debt. Even in his death Sultan 'Ali wrought confusion, displaying that weakness so common in Malay rulers, subservience to petticoat influence, and nominating as heir not his well-born eldest son, Tengku 'Alam, but the son of his third and commoner wife. The British government decided to let the Temenggong Paduka Tuan and headmen of Muar elect their own ruler, and the ballot (which some said was rigged) chose the Maharaja of Johor, who after some reluctance to feed a hand that might bite him agreed to allow the Sultan's family $1,250 a month in all, terminable with the consent of the British government but in fact paid to this day.

convey his wishes through his eighteen-year-old son, Abu-Bakar, who showed his mettle by telling the Governor that if he insisted on the Temenggong acknowledging Tengku 'Ali as Sultan and giving him a share of Johor revenue, they could not help themselves but of their own free will they would not consent, and the youth added, pointing to the police sentry, "If Your Honour insisted on making that policeman Sultan, we should have to submit."

The East India Company stuck to the letter of the law, as it had done with the Sultan of Kedah, and sacrificed justice to the credit side of its ledgers. But the whirligig of time had brought about a curious revenge. The Bendaharas of Pahang and Temenggongs of Johor, forerunners of the present Sultans of these countries, were descended from a son of 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah, first Bendahara Emperor of Johor, who was older than the young son, Sulaiman he appointed his successor. Tun Abbas that older son was the child of a lady of birth but he was born before 1699 when his father became Sultan: Sulaiman, ancestor of Sultan Husain of Singapore, was the son of an Achinese slave-girl, reputed to have been purchased for a dish-cover, but he was born after 1699, and that fact was seized upon by his mother to induce her doting husband 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah to nominate him heir to the Johor empire. The last of the descendants of the Achinese slave-girl to be emperor of all that the partition between Dutch and English had left of the Johor empire south of Singapore was deposed from his throne of Lingga in 1911 and the Sultanate abolished, while the descendants of Tun 'Abbas sit on the thrones of Pahang and Johor and the descendants of a brother of the Bendahara-Sultan 'Abdu'l-Jalil Shah sit on the throne of Trengganu.

The days of the East India Company were now numbered. In 1851 the Straits Settlements ceased to be a Residency under the Government of Bengal and came under the supervision of the Governor-General of India, a change that made little difference in practice. In 1858 old John Company was abolished and this also effected no change except that the Straits Settlements passed automatically under the control of the India Office. Then in 1867 the Straits Settlements were transferred from the India Office to the Colonial Office. To India the Malay Settlements had been a

third-rate Residency, for which distance and the use of the Malay and Chinese languages made it difficult to provide a civil service. They were a dumping-ground for convicts and troops for which the dependency had to pay. To defray the cost of administration India had wanted to interfere with the free trade of the Settlements, though it was free trade that had brought them prosperity as against the Dutch system of monopoly. And not to increase the cost of administration India had been reluctant to handle the problem of misrule in the Malay States, where peace and security were imperative for the development of British commerce. Unofficial representation there was none, and in 1855 India attempted to force Indian currency on a country whose trade was conducted in dollars and cents. In short, between India and Malaya there were no ties, geographical, political or commercial. Finally after years of local agitation, persuaded that the Straits Settlements could defray the cost of their own administration, the British Government approved of the transfer to the Colonial Office, and within a decade came a momentous change of policy.

XI

THE MALAY STATES.

i.

ANARCHY AND PIRACY.

Her troubles with Kedah and Selangor ended, Perak was torn by fratricidal quarrels between princes of her own royal house. In 1826 Selangor lost Sultan Ibrahim that strong old Anglophile who with Raja Haji had fought the Dutch at Malacca, been deposed and exiled by them and then regaining his throne had conquered Perak and died haggling with the niggardliness of age over a small bill owing him by that State. His successor lacked his strength and his energy: " the country " wrote Newbold, " has lapsed into comparative decay, and its population is daily decreasing from emigration, the result of the extortions of the Sultan's numerous offspring; who setting all law and justice at defiance, commit piracies, rob, plunder and levy contributions on the wretched inhabitants." More than one village fled wholesale by night into Malacca territory, while at Lukut the Chinese miners rose and murdered the heir to the throne, thrusting his wife and children back into their burning house. In Negri Sembilan, too, where the '30s had seen five claimants to the throne, the final election of Raja Radin put an end neither to robber tax-collectors nor to boundary disputes and petty raids. But things Malayan were to go from bad to worse. In 1857 war broke out between the Temonggong of Johor and the Temenggong of Muar. In the same year Muhammad Sultan of Selangor expired suddenly at Klang and Bendahara 'Ali ruler of Pahang also died and in 1861 the Yamtuan Besar Radin. The Selangor and Pahang rulers left the succession to their thrones undetermined; while in Negri Sembilan the Yamtuan Besar had to be elected unanimously by the four big territorial chiefs. With the partition of the Johor empire the Malay Sultan at Lingga could no longer exercise authority in Pahang or Negri Sembilan nor could the Bugis Underking at Riau interfere in Selangor. No longer were there Dutch blockades to excite Malay patriotism and it was the policy of England to leave the Malay States to stew in their own juice. For the next twenty years they lived in a hell-broth of civil wars, while the trade of every one of the three British settlements suffered.

Except for the sufferings of the peasant, there was a lot that was Gilbertian in the war of the Pahang succession. When in July 1857 Wan Ahmad fitted out ships in the present waters of Singapore's naval base in order to attack his brother Tahir, the new Bendahara, the British Government was quite unaware of a clause in his father's will giving him the districts of Endau and Kuantan and so furnishing a *casus belli* plausible though bad at Malay law against Tahir who claimed the whole of Pahang. Again. Friendly as the British Government was with Temenggong Ibrahim of Johor, it took no interest in the fact that two of his children had married children of the new Bendahara Tahir, and (though it had paid no attention to Wan Ahmad's warlike preparations) quite illogically it threatened the Temenggong with criminal proceedings if *he attacked a power at peace with England*, to wit, Wan Ahmad the pretender! Events, however, were soon to shake Singapore out of this intellectual lethargy. The Temenggong feed a Singapore lawyer to point out the *non sequitur* in the Governor's letter and to draft a treaty of alliance between Pahang and Johor and in 1862 that treaty was blessed at a Government House durbar! The sudden British *volte-face* had a reason. Mahmud Muzaffar Shah, deposed by the Dutch from the throne of Lingga, appeared in Pahang in 1858, claiming to be the lawful ruler of that State and of Johor, as his ancestors had been before the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1824. Repudiated by the British, Mahmud Muzaffar Shah left Bendahara Tahir, went in 1861 with Wan Ahmad to Bangkok and intrigued for the thrones of Trengganu and Kelantan. In the attitude of the Siamese Governor Cavenagh detected a design to bring Pahang under Bangkok and to strengthen Siam's control over Trengganu and Kelantan. The Temenggong, now Abu-Bakar, was even more alarmed. He did not want the ex-Sultan of Lingga to assert any claim to Johor nor did he want Wan Ahmad to oust his brother the Bendahara and repudiate the treaty of 1862 which had ceded Tiuman and other islands to Johor. Abu-Bakar therefore threw himself whole-heartedly into the cause of his father-in-law, Bendahara Tahir and his worthless brother-in-law Wan Koris. He sent supplies of rice and salt and he bought guns and cartridges from John Little. He hired Perak mercenaries and a Eurasian tiger-shooter and he tried to recruit fighting-men from Negri

Sembilan. He collected Bugis mercenaries from Johor whose wild caperings and unbound hair made the foolish Bendahara Muda, Wan Koris, sure of victory. To make assurance doubly sure, Abubakar offered a reward of $500 for the head of Wan Ahmad. It was all in vain. Not even the British stage bombardment of Trengganu, consequent on its Sultan's refusal to banish Mahmud of Lingga, could put heart into Bendahara Tahir and his opium-smoking son. Sitting in a coffee-shop at Kuala Trengganu, Wan Ahmad thought of a way to win the war and on 30 May 1863 conquered Pahang and became its ruler with a coffee-leaf for his crest. Not that his victory ended the fighting, though Bendahara Tahir and his son, Wan Koris, both died at sea fleeing to Johor. In 1866 Wan Aman (= 'Abdu'r-Rahman), now *de jure* Bendahara, attacked Pahang by way of the Jempul pass from Negri Sembilan, only to retreat after a month, defeated. In 1868 there was an attack on Raub, subsidized (report said) by Temenggong Abubakar. Finally in 1870 in return for his help at Klang, Raja Mahdi of Selangor fame helped Wan Aman to carry on nine months of futile guerilla warfare at Raub.

For this Raja Mahdi had fomented another Malay war that lasted eight years. By 1860 'Abdu'l-Samad, nephew of the deceased Sultan Muhammad, was seated on the throne of Selangor, where he maintained himself by a past reputation for frightfulness and a present policy of *laissez faire*. Nothing, however, but fear of the Dutch had ever kept united this region of river provinces. In Muhammad's reign Klang had been in charge of a Raja 'Abdu'llah who had introduced Chinese, founded Kuala Lumpur and derived a large revenue from tin mines, which large revenue produced a rival claimant to the Klang estuary in Raja Mahdi, son of the predecessor of Raja 'Abdu'llah. A quarrel at Kuala Lumpur between Bugis and Mandiling miners, which Raja 'Abdu'llah omitted or was unable to adjust, provided Raja Mahdi with a Mandiling fighting force, while a Straits-born Malacca Chinese, Baba Tek Cheng, supplied the sinews of war, requiring only interest on his outlay until victory should put his Raja in a position to grant limitless concessions of land. The Baba's activities gave Raja 'Abdu'llah an excuse to employ pirate cruisers to plunder all

craft entering or leaving Selangor, but by the end of 1866 Raja Mahdi had taken Klang and forced Raja 'Abdu'llah and his relatives to flee to Malacca, while Mr. W. H. Read and Towkay Kim Ching, both of Singapore, and other British subjects clamoured to be compensated for loss of capital invested in Klang.

In 1867 a daughter of Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad married Tengku Zia'u'd-din alias Kudin, a Europeanized brother of the Sultan of Kedah. 'Abdu'l-Samad gave his son-in-law the Langat estuary for his marriage portion and being himself a careless philosopher, who had abandoned warfare for gardening opium-smoking and the hoarding of tin, he made the Kedah Raja Viceroy of the whole country. In 1869 with Ilanun and Bugis mercenaries and some Kedah followers Kudin drove Raja Mahdi out of Klang and settled there himself, opening roads and fostering the mining industry and trade with the British Colony. In vain Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad begged the Governor to help prevent the import of rice and ammunition from Malacca for his enemies. In 1870 Raja Mahdi seized Kuala Selangor, and proceeded to collect the revenues of that river-basin. The Malay Viceroy reported to the British Government that Mr. Bacon a Penang Eurasian (who fished also in the troubled waters of Perak) had been paid $30,000 to assist Raja Mahdi with rice, muskets and gun powder. Pirates, rife everywhere in Malayan seas, now swarmed in the Malacca straits. In 1871 Chinese, alleged to have issued from Kuala Selangor, plundered a junk and murdered 34 persons, including women and children. *H.M.S. Rinaldo* and the Colonial steamer *Pluto* proceeded to Kuala Selangor to demand the arrest of the pirates. But a naval lieutenant tried to drag a Malay into his boat, which caused the Malays to act with "their usual treachery," whereupon the *Rinaldo* shelled the fort and smashed its *sena* trees and drove the garrison into the jungle. A fortnight later the Colonial Secretary, James Wheeler Woodford Birch, interviewed the Sultan who agreed that all the Malays concerned were rogues and renewed the powers of the Viceroy, whom the British favoured. His Highness' quiet ineffectual son, Raja Musa, once more occupied Kuala Selangor and drew the revenue from river-tolls but refused to defray the cost of administration and was deposed by the Viceroy. Again

Mahdi took Kuala Selangor and again was expelled by Tengku Kudin. There were now 12,000 Chinese miners at Klang and the output of tin was 3,000 pikuls a month, so that the blockading of estuaries to cut off his enemies' supplies caused the Viceroy to become unpopular with Malacca and Singapore merchants who had made advances against the delivery of ore.

Other Malay States were soon to join in the Selangor disturbances. Mahdi enlisted the aid of the *de jure* Bendahara of Pahang, who since his eviction by Wan Ahmad in 1863 had lived at Klang. As we have seen, the *de jure* Bendahara was related by marriage to Abu-Bakar Maharaja (ex-Temenggong) of Johor, and though Abu-Bakar ostensibly supported the British favourite the Viceroy, he was suspected by Mr. Read and other critics of covertly helping Mahdi: certainly he suggested the supersession of the Viceroy and let Mahdi escape from Johor. One of the two territorial chiefs of Sungai Ujong, the Dato' Bandar, also helped Mahdi's adherents.

In the midst of these alarums, on 21 August 1872, the Colonial government informed the Singapore Chamber of Commerce that "it is the policy of Her Majesty's Government not to interfere in the affairs of the Malay States unless where it becomes necessary for the suppression of piracy or the punishment of aggression on our people or territories; and that, if traders, prompted by the prospect of large gains, choose to run the risk of placing their persons and property in the jeopardy which they are aware attends them in these countries under present circumstances, it is imposible for Government to be answerable for their protection or that of their property." Clearly the Viceroy had to look elsewhere than to Singapore for effective aid and he turned with the full approval of Governor Ord to Wan Ahmad, who was now indignant that his enemy but relative the *de jure* Bendahara having changed sides was now a prisoner in the hands of Raja Mahdi, and who was not disposed to tolerate the domination of a state on his western border by his rival the Maharaja of Johor. The outlook for the Viceroy at this moment was black. An Arab mercenary, Sayid Mashhor had cut off his Kuala Lumpur garrison consisting of two European officers van Hagen and Cavalieri and eighty sepoys:

attempting to retire they were ambushed and killed. Sayid Mashhor also captured Kuala Selangor and killed its garrison of one European and fifty-two sepoys. The Viceroy held only Klang, when Wan Ahmad sent 500 men by sea to Kuala Selangor and 2,000 over the Bentong pass. Although Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad, desiring only to cultivate his garden, sided with both parties, by the end of 1874 the Pahang forces had turned the scale and made the Viceroy master of the whole state. Peace, however, could not have prevailed, if the murder of eight British subjects from Malacca and a change in the policy of the Colonial Office had not led about this time to Selangor being brought under British protection. But that is a story for the next chapter.

Meanwhile in Perak the fratricidal tendencies of the royal family had spread to the 40,000 Chinese miners in Larut. The Si-Kuans of the great Ghi Hin Triad Society started to fight the Go-Kuans, who belonged to the Hai San and Toa-Pek-Kong societies, the last society having on its roll of membership most of the Pinang dealers in arms. Larut since 1850 had been governed first by a minor chief Long Ja'far and then by his son, Ngah Brahim, who drew a large revenue ($200,000 a year) which they were not prepared to waste on police. Whether various deeds of gift from Perak Sultans had made these petty chiefs independent lords of the district or whether in accordance with the usual Malay law of land tenure they merely enjoyed the usufruct so long as they could govern effectually, remains a moot point: what is certain is that their method of governing was to side with the strongest law-breaker. But as among the weaker faction, the Si-Kuans, there were many British subjects, the British government backed the Si-Kuans' claim for damages and sent cruisers to blockade the coast until $17,447.04 was paid. In 1872 an illicit love affair started a fresh fight, which the Si-Kuans won thanks to the exertions of professional Chinese fighters whom Ngah Brahim (since 1863 Orang Kaya, Mantri of Perak) had admitted because he understood that they would only handle Chinese miners, whereas the blackguards also attacked his small Malay police force. The Mantri hired junks to transport the Go-Kuan refugees to Pinang and then transferred his patronage to the victors. To a request of the vanquished for redress, the

Governor, Sir Harry Ord, replied that Larut lay outside his jurisdiction and he could not interfere. The life of one of the leading Si-Kuan miners was attempted at his Pinang residence. A red-faced Go-Kuan brought a bogus action for debt against the Mantri and got a writ issued to detain his steamer, while the Go-Kuans surprised their enemies in Larut. Hundreds perished in the fighting: 2,000 refugees, many of them wounded, found their way to Penang and the women captured were distributed between the victorious Go-Kuans and the Mantri's followers. Once more the Mantri sided with the winning faction. The Governor issued a public proclamation calling attention to sections 125 and 126 of the Penal Code. The Si-Kuans bought up junks and blockaded the Perak coast. The senior naval officer had to intervene and seized two junks, which put up no resistance. But junks were abandoned for war-canoes that could escape up creeks and rivers. The Go-Kuans at the mines were starved and the Si-Kuans had enemies on shore and enemies on the high seas. Piracy became rife from Kedah to the Dindings and there were clan-fights in the streets of Penang. In vain Colonel Anson, the Lieutenant-Governor of Pinang, tried to mediate. Angry with the Mantri because there was a limit beyond which he would not be fleeced, Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah, who claimed to be rightful Sultan of Perak, took the side of the Mantri's enemies, the Si-Kuans. The Si-Kuans wounded two young officers of *H.M.S. Midge* at the Larut estuary and tried to blow up the Mantri's house in Penang, wounding five persons and killing a policeman. Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah said the Si-Kuans had wounded the two officers in an encounter with the Mantri's piratical war-boats, but the *Midge* and the *Thalia* shelled the Si-Kuan stockades and carried off 'Abdu'llah to Penang. A few days before this Governor Ord recognized the Mantri as the lawful ruler of Larut independent of the Sultan, let him employ Captain Speedy of the Pinang Police for service in Larut and helped him to recruit sepoys and purchase arms. But while the Mantri and Captain Speedy could now hold the mines, they were not strong enough to suppress the piratical war-boats.

If Larut was distracted by Chinese riots, the rest of Perak was disturbed by rival Malay claimants to the throne. By the

Perak constitution the three highest state officers are in descending scale the Sultan, the Raja Muda (or Heir Apparent) and the Bendahara (or Prime Minister). Seven days after a ruler's death the Bendahara should invite the Raja Muda to attend the obsequies and be installed as Sultan. But when in 1871 Sultan 'Ali died, no yellow umbrella and no horse-boat invited Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah. At first the Bendahara took no action, though 'Abdu'llah's brother-in-law, the deceased's son, did send a messenger wearing one of his father's kerchiefs, a more polite intimation than any missive but still not formal. 'Abdu'llah feared to go upriver lest he might be attacked by another claimant, Raja Yusuf; and disgusted at his cowardice, his consort eloped with a Selangor raja. His civilised acceptance of his wife's dishonour made it harder still for 'Abdu'llah to face the chiefs in durbar. After 'Ali's body had remained unburied for a month the Bendahara Isma'il was duly and properly installed as Sultan and at once took the official scales of the customs office at Kuala Perak (one of the most important tax-collecting stations in the country) away from a relation of Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah and gave them to his own nominee. 'Abdu'llah's relations raided the new customs office and seized the scales, a course that must have led to war in Lower Perak if Sultan Isma'il had not been fully occupied with the Larut disturbances. Next year people like the Eurasian Bacon to whom 'Abdu'llah had granted large concessions began for their own ends to throw doubt on the validity of Isma'il's election, and Governor Ord sent a high Straits official (with a son of Munshi Abdu'llah as interpreter) to investigate on the spot who was the rightful ruler. In spite of the Mantri's warning that the election of Isma'il was perfectly valid, this official jumped to the conclusion that the Mantri owed Larut to a corrupt bargain to support Isma'il and that he wanted to obtain a precedent to break the line of succession in order later to usurp the throne himself. Without meeting Isma'il he stigmatised him as an impracticable Malay of the old school and advised the installation of that lover of European ways, 'Abdu'llah, which he was optimist enough to say "might be done very unobtrusively." Unlike Isma'il, 'Abdu'llah would not assist Raja Mahdi and Sayid Mashhor against Zia'u'd-din, the Kedah viceroy of Selangor. In short 'Abdu'llah's election might secure peace from

Kedah to Johor. On this the Governor suggested summoning all the Perak chiefs finally to decide who should be their ruler but the chiefs rightly declared that the matter was settled and refused to come. Isma'il was still the rightful ruler and 'Abdu'llah only a pretender, when Sir Harry Ord left the Straits and was succeeded by Sir Andrew Clarke, a change of Governors that happened to coincide with a change of policy on the part of the Colonial Office.

ii.

BRITISH INTERVENTION.

At the end of 1872 Her Majesty's government still refused to intervene in the affairs of the Malay States, as Malacca traders were informed when they petitioned about their losses from Selangor anarchy (p. 229). In June 1873 a London Company wrote to Downing Street that Mr. J. G. Davidson had a large tin concession in Selangor and would like to float a Company: would the British protect that State or allow the Company to keep an armed force? Lord Kimberley would do neither. But at this very time Governor Ord reported to Kimberley how 248 Straits Chinese merchants were complaining of Malay anarchy; and His Excellency added that, outside Johor, it was only in the States dependent on Siam that peace was preserved. Local feeling, official and unofficial, was strongly in favour of intervention. And in a despatch dated 20 September 1873 the Secretary of State abandoned the policy of inaction inherited from the East India Company:—

> "Her Majesty's Government have, it need hardly be said, no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Malay States; but, looking to the long and intimate connection between them and the British Government.... Her Majesty's Government find it incumbent to employ such influence as they possess with the native princes to rescue, if possible, these fertile and productive countries from the ruin which must befall them if the present disorders continue unchecked.
>
> "I have to request that you will carefully ascertain, as far as you are able, the actual condition of affairs in each State and that you will report to me whether there are in your opinion any steps which can properly be taken by the

> Colonial Government to promote the restoration of peace and order and to secure protection to trade and commerce with the native territories. I should wish you, especially, to consider whether it would be advisable to appoint a British officer to reside in any of the States. Such an appointment could, of course, only be made with the full consent of the native Government, and the expenses connected with it would have to be defrayed by the Government of the Straits Settlements."

Instructed as to the new policy Sir Andrew Clarke arrived in Singapore as Governor in November and with amazing celerity proceeded to carry out his orders. Within a year he had placed British advisers in Perak, Selangor and Sungai Ujong.

First of all Sir Andrew Clarke tackled Perak, apparently an easy problem. After his capture by the *Midge* Raja Muda 'Abdu'llah had been allowed by Colonel Anson, Lieutenant-Governor of Pinang, to sail to Singapore a discredited man, ready to agree to the residential system or to any system that would restore his fortunes. Mr. W. H. Read, an unofficial member of the Legislative Council, took him to the Governor and induced him to write a letter asking for a Resident at his Court. This was the opening Sir Andrew required. On 20 January 1874 he managed to persuade the Bendahara, the Temenggong and the Mantri of Larut together with the Lower Perak chiefs whose kinsman 'Abdu'llah was, to sign a treaty known from the place where it was concluded as the Pangkor treaty. 'Abdu'llah became Sultan and agreed to accept a British Resident. He was the rightful heir and was intelligent and Europeanized and to disallow his claim because he had failed to attend a funeral seemed to Victorian rationalists frivolous. In spite of the formal legality of his election Sultan Isma'il was deposed in his absence but was to be given a title and a pension of $1,000 a month. The Mantri, in disgrace for his vacillating ineffective control of the Larut miners, suffered the eclipse of all his hopes and was retained in his office only because Sir Andrew thought it would make for peace. Used to European ways, he wanted a chair at the conference on the Governor's yacht like the Rajas present but was pushed down on the deck by Major McNair, the Colonial Engineer, to squat among the commoner chiefs. Isma'il

his nominee and friend had lost the Perak throne to 'Abdu'llah, the supporter of his Chinese enemies in Larut. The Mantri was to foot the Colony's bill for Larut disturbances which 'Abdu'llah had fostered. And he who had been given as good as a throne by Colonel Anson and Governor Ord was made by a new Governor in a hurry and unaware of that gift the salaried chief of a province subject to 'Abdu'llah. All the Perak chiefs objected to ceding more than the island of Pangkor to Great Britain but to please a Chinese creditor, 'Abdu'llah consented to cede the Dindings, a strip of the mainland too. The treaty was not the success it has sometimes been painted. No sooner had the new Governor left and 'Abdu'llah gone upstream to enjoy his sovereignty than the chiefs held meetings of protest and opined that the cession of Pangkor and the Dindings spelt the cession of Perak. In their eyes the one redeeming feature of the treaty was that the Resident could not meddle with Malay custom and they could continue to capture and enslave aborigines. The Mantri paid a lawyer a retaining fee of $12,000 to put his case before the British parliament, a procedure never adopted because 'Abdu'llah fearful for his throne vetoed it. Naturally Sultan Isma'il was furious. Captain Speedy, who had been in the Mantri's service was appointed Assistant Resident in Larut, where peace was soon restored. All appointments in the Malay States were then temporary so that selection of officers lay with the Governor, and in November 1874 James Wheeler Woodford Birch, Colonial Secretary of the Straits Settlements, arrived in Perak, chosen by Sir Andrew Clarke to be its first Resident because of his untiring energy, his long Ceylon experience and "his tact and judgment in dealing with natives."

The new Resident was confronted not only with the fratricidal quarrels of the Rajas but also with political and social conditions difficult for the most understanding and patient of administrators. Perak had a constitution on the old Malacca model, which even in that small port settlement had failed under stress of palace intrigue. There were four great court ministers: the Bendahara or Prime Minister, the Penghulu Bendahara or Treasurer, the Temenggong or Minister of War and Police and the Mantri or Secretary. Below these were eight others, two of them the Admiral

and the Port officer and all of them chiefs of provinces. Below the eight were sixteen, most of them heirs and assistants of the eight. And below the sixteen were in theory thirty-two more, a miscellaneous collection of minor headmen. Time had played havoc with this constitution. Originally the four great court offices had been held by descendants of the Bendaharas of old Malacca, those energetic builders of empire, who out of successful trade had risen to successful administration. But wars had caused the office of Perak's prime minister to fall into the hands of Kedah and Minangkabau invaders and Arab adventurers until finally nepotism had bestowed it on one of the royal family. The Treasury had fallen to a family of Arab Sayids. The Ministry of War had passed through various hands until it had become the perquisite of Bugis invaders. The office of Mantri after being held by Hadramaut Sayids of the house of Ahmad bin Esa al-Mohajir had become in the end the territorial chieftaincy of Larut. The older aristocracy survived only in the Eight and the Sixteen and had become provincial and independent, a baronial class whose members backed one or other of the perpetual pretenders to the Perak throne as locality and self-interest dictated. To districts where there was no territorial baron, royal messengers would carry the Sultan's creese and carry off girls to become attendants in a palace whose Hindu tradition demanded that its master like a Hindu god should be surrounded by odalisques dedicated to the service of love. Class distinctions were rigid. To strike a royal slave involved the penalty of death. Any one who enticed away a royal slave had to make good the chattel's value fourteen-fold: if the slave belonged to a Raja, seven-fold; if to a Mantri, five-fold; if to a Sayid, three-fold; if to a common person, two-fold: too poor to pay, the enticer was killed. There were several kinds of slave, the captured aborigine or prisoner of war, the purchased Batak or Nias or kafir slave, the Malay debt-bondsman. And the end of many was torture, starvation and death. "The loan of a slave was like the borrowing of a stick." On the discovery of the pregnancy of a female slave, her purchaser could return her as damaged goods but her child remained his property. "The desire to possess some particular person sometimes led to the invention of fictitious debts and people were liable with little hope of redress to be dragged from their

homes." Every peasant was liable to be summoned by some raja or chief for forced labour, for which he got no payment. Taxation was exorbitant and arbitrary. For at the mouth of every river and every tributary the local chief had a customs-station where duties were demanded. None but a Muslim had legal rights or could own land. "When you enter a byre, low" runs a Malay proverb, but Mr. Birch dashed into Perak's Augean stable, like an angry Victorian schoolmaster, confident that decision and firmness would soon clean it up. A central government was to collect all taxes and there was to be one high court judge who would sentence "unlawful" Malay tax-gatherers or, as he termed them, "blackmailers." The chiefs listened aghast to proposals that might have come from a high-handed "Dutch sailor" and concluded that Mr. Birch "had nothing to fill his own belly and had come to Perak to collect the revenue of others." Complacently Mr. Birch, the earnest rationalist school-master wrote his report to the head-master at Singapore: "it concerns us little what were the old customs of the country, nor do I think they are worthy of any consideration." Before the end of 1874, 'Abdu'llah sent a secret message to his rival Isma'il, "I am now ascending the river, not by my own desire but by that of Mr. Birch. If he asks for the regalia or desires to instal me, do not consent. Should you consent to my installation as Sultan, Perak will be given over to the English; for my words have caused me to be much indebted to them.... Should I myself ask for the regalia in the presence of Mr. Birch, do not consent to give them up." 'Abdu'llah appointed three chiefs as his delegates to discuss administration but Mr. Birch refused to recognize them. The Malays sent a deputation to Singapore to entreat the Governor's sympathetic aid to prevent the Resident from interfering with religion and custom, from acting without consulting Sultan and chiefs, and from depriving them of their property, namely fugitive slaves and feudal dues. On the verge of retirement Sir Andrew Clarke merely rated the delegates instead of satisfying them that they would draw adequate political allowances in compensation for abolished perquisites. On 20 July 1874 'Abdu'llah convened a meeting of chiefs, where after talk of poison the majority favoured acceptance of an offer by a down-river chief, the Maharaja Lela, to stab the Resident. 'Abdu'llah

next conducted a *séance* to discover if Perak's guardian genies would remove the white oppressor. Still Mr. Birch smuggled fugitive slaves out of the country and was importunate to control its taxation. At his instigation the new Governor, Sir William Jervois, offered 'Abdu'llah the choice of having the throne taken from him and given to his enemy and relative, Raja Yusuf, or of authorizing the Resident to administer Perak in his royal name in return for an allowance of $2,000 a month. 'Abdu'llah yielded but friendly Rajas advised the Resident to fetch troops before he posted proclamations substituting British for Malay feudal taxation. 'Abdu'llah sent a creese to the Maharaja Lela, a symbolic order to execute his promise. Near midnight on 1 November 1874 Mr. Birch accompanied by a small Sepoy guard moored his boat close by the Maharaja Lela's house on the Perak river. It was now three days since his assassins had been appointed. Unsuspecting he allowed his companion Mr. Abbott, a naval lieutenant, to cross the river at dawn to shoot snipe. The sepoys and boatmen went ashore to cook their rice. Mr. Birch who was recovering from a sprained ankle sat in his boat smoking a cigar. The Maharaja Lela having refused to meet the Resident sat in his open hall of audience waiting to learn if the white man would post proclamations which boded the end of feudal rights and feudal rule; he had ordered his men to tear them down and, if they were posted again, to run amuck and kill. The Resident directed his clerk, Mat Arshad, to stick the notices on the wooden walls of the Chinese shop-house ten yards away, and himself entered the floating bath-house to which his boat was tied. A sepoy sentry armed with a revolver guarded the door. Mat Arshad shouted to his master that the Malays were tearing down the proclamations, at which Mr. Birch called back to him to post them again. Mat Arshad set about the job, pushing one of the crowd aside. The Malays stabbed the elderly whiskered clerk and leaping on to the bath-house speared the Resident through the flimsy palm-leaf walls: as he lay half in the stream, one man Seputum hacked him with a sword; the body fell into the river and disappeared. The sentry jumped into the water without having fired a shot: no one had given the order! The Dato' Sagor stood a silent accomplice.

As so often in tragedy, the end was squalid butchery.

Guerilla warfare followed. Oppressed by the Rajas, the bulk of the Malay peasants had neither desire nor means to fight the English. All the murderers were hunted down. The Maharaja Lela and his accomplice the Sri Agar 'diraja (or To' Sagor) were hanged. Sultan Isma'il, innocent of breaking a treaty he had never signed, was removed for the good of his country to Johor. Treachery having made it inexpedient for him to retain his throne, 'Abdu'llah was banished to the Seychelles along with the Mantri and his own maternal relatives the Laksamana and the Shahbandar. The finding of Singapore's Executive Council was fair: "it must be admitted that provocation was given to the Sultan and his chiefs. The late Mr. Birch was a most zealous and conscientious officer. He was, however, much thwarted from the outset, and there is reason to believe that his manner may at times have been overbearing. It must also be admitted, in some instances he showed a want of respect for Malay custom. It was also injudicious to interfere with local taxes before the general scale of allowances had been fixed in lieu of them." Sir Frank Swettenham has written the kindest epitaph: "By the action which his death made necessary, the State of Perak gained in twelve months what ten years of 'advice' could hardly have accomplished," debt-slavery was abolished and the poor and oppressed, of whom James Wheeler Woodford Birch was ever the friend and champion, came under a government before which all men are free and all men are under the law equal.

The Governor's new broom next swept the pirate haunts of the Selangor coast. On 7 November 1873 a vessel registered at Malacca was sailing home from Langat with three Chinese passengers, a crew of six Malays from the Colony and a sum of $2,000 in cash. At 2 p.m. it anchored at the estuary to await the night breeze; at 5 p.m. it was boarded by pirates disguised as fishermen, who proceeded to shoot down and stab all its occupants except one, who swam off in the dark to a Bugis trading vessel. This piracy and murders were perpetrated within hail of a fort occupied by the Sultan's third son, Raja Ya'akob, and, as it appeared, were done by his followers, and for his benefit. The nine murderers

were so indiscreet as to visit Malacca where they were arrested—one securing his release by turning "King's evidence." This was the worst of many sea episodes encouraged by Selangor chiefs and even by the Sultan who gave "passes" indiscriminately to gun-runners, whom the Viceroy had to seize in self-defence, thus becoming technically a pirate! On Christmas Day, 1873, Malay pirates disguised as Chinese boarded a Malacca *sĕkochi*, stealing coconuts, poultry and weapons, but the crew jumped overboard and swam to safety. In January 1874 a boat belonging to Raja Mahmud attacked the lighthouse which Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad had allowed to be built at Cape Rachado!

So, at the beginning of February 1874 the new Governor, Sir Andrew Clarke, took advantage of the appearance in Malayan waters of Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Shadwell, Commander-in-chief of the China Station, to request him to assist by the presence of his squadron in negotiations with the Sultan of Selangor for the trial in that State of eight of the murderers of the Malacca subjects on 7 November 1873. It was feared that uncertainty as to the place of the crime, whether on the high sea or in Selangor waters, might lead to acquittal in a British court, and that punishment in British territory would have little deterrent effect in Selangor. So far from being a feeble worn-out opium-smoker, Sultan 'Abdu'l-Samad proved to be "an elderly gentleman of 55 or 60 years of age, having his sense perfectly about him and quite able to manage his affairs if he were not indolent. A rather careless philosopher, who showed his character by saying 'Piracy is the affair of the boys, my sons. I have nothing to do with it.'" His hoard of tin was said to be worth $100,000. His Highness readily agreed to the trial of the murdering pirates by a court composed of the Viceroy, Dato' Aru, the Penghulu Dagang and See Ah Keng, the Chinese headman at Langat, with the Colonial Engineer Major McNair and the Viceroy's legal friend, Mr. J. G. Davidson, as commissioners. On the 15th February 1874 this court sitting in the stockade at Kuala Jugra condemned seven of the prisoners to be speared and creesed, the eighth being reprieved on account of his youth. It found no evidence to connect Raja Ya'akob with

the crime! The next morning at 11 o'clock the sentence was carried out with a creese sent overnight by the Sultan.

Next "upon the requisition of the Sultan" the stockades on both sides of the river were burnt down and the guns destroyed. The commissioners fixed the damage for the outrage committed on British subjects at $5,000, which the Sultan at once paid in tin. In their report they remarked that all the Selangor Rajas and chiefs expressed a strong desire to have a British officer resident among them to advise and assist in the government of the country, and that they had heard Tengku Zia'u'd-din had applied for one. Already in a despatch dated 20 September 1873 Lord Kimberley had desired Sir Andrew Clarke "especially to consider whether it would be advisable to appoint a British officer to reside in any of the states": His Lordship enclosed correspondence with Mr. Seymour Clarke to show that Tengku Zia'u'd-din desired help from Great Britain, or failing her, from some other European power in order to end the troubles in Selangor. But pending decision by the new Secretary of State, Lord Carnarvon, on 27 June 1874 the Governor was still limiting "intervention, as far as Selangor is concerned, to the cultivation of personal friendly relations with the Sultan and his chiefs, so as to render easy and acceptable that more active supervision which, sooner or later, must be exercised over them, being not alone requisite to secure and consolidate what has been already accomplished, but also imperatively necessary to guard against a relapse into old customs and practices." Immediate interference was desirable but Sir Andrew Clarke hesitated to initiate on his own part, preferring rather to see it, as he anticipated "the result of the free and unanimous choice of all the chiefs themselves." At a meeting of the Legislative Council on 15 September Sir Andrew Clarke announced that he had left at Langat a young civilian, Mr. (now Sir) Frank Swettenham to give informal advice and that the Sultan had written: "We are very much obliged to our friend for the officer whom our friend has chosen. He is very clever; he is also very clever in the customs of Malay government and he is very clever at gaining the hearts of Rajas with soft words, delicate and sweet, so that all men rejoice in him as in the perfume of an opened flower." Nor did the royal gardener limit his satisfaction

to compliments: unsolicited, he proffered $1,000 a month in payment of Mr. Swettenham's salary and expenses. On 30 December the Governor informed the Earl of Carnarvon, that though entirely satisfied with Mr. Swettenham, he had found the appointment of a Resident necessary, in order to restore confidence and attract capital. For this office he had chosen a Writer to the Signet, Mr. J. G. Davidson, who for three years had been the Viceroy's unofficial adviser, frequently accompanying him in the field and assisting him very freely with funds. Mr. Davidson had transferred his business interests in Selangor to a mercantile house and enjoyed the confidence of Europeans and Malays. Mr. Swettenham, a young and energetic officer of very high promise and great tact, was to remain at Langat as Assistant Resident.

Henceforth the *pax Britannica* brought contentment and prosperity to Selangor and gave its people footballs in place of creese and cannon.

1874 was an eventful year. Having negotiated the Pangkor Treaty on 20 January and dealt with the Langat outrage in February, Sir Andrew Clarke turned to Negri Sembilan and persuaded the Dato' Klana Putra of Sungai Ujong and the Dato' Muda of Linggi to sign on 21 April a document binding themselves (like the Chinese faction-leaders of Larut) in a penal sum of $50,000 to be paid to Queen Victoria unless they kept the Linggi river free of illegal tax-gatherers, administered their territory on principles of justice and equity and placed Sempang, the storm-centre of the river pother, under the control of the British government. Four months later, the Dato' Klana Putra promised to build roads and a gaol and asked for a British Resident. On Sunday 10 October a flagstaff "as large as a schooner's main-mast" was erected beside the Klana's house at Ampangan and next day the British flag was hoisted to a salute of 21 guns: a pot of incense was burnt and an old Haji knelt and recited prayer. To the Klana's rival, an old fellow of eighty who hitherto had wrung taxes as he pleased out of the 10,000 Chinese miners of Sungai Ujong, this Union Jack and the British Superintendent were like a red rag to a bull. The old gentleman held the lucrative office of Shahbandar (or Bandar for short), in origin port officer to the Malay Sultans

of Malacca and Johor; and he now enlisted Raja Mahmud, a famous Selangor warrior and started fighting the Dato' Klana Putra. The Klana's Malays levanted as soon as Raja Mahmud took the field, and the rapid defeat of the Dato' Bandar was due to the Klana's Arab mercenaries, his two Somali negroes armed with spear and shield, and less than two hundred British soldiers and sailors. After this victory, the Klana was attacked by Tengku Antah, who had been recognised as Yam-tuan of Sri Menanti and the little states of Ulu Muar but for the office of Yam-tuan Besar of Negri Sembilan had a rival in Tengku Ahmad Tunggal, the Klana's nominee. The British supported their friend, the Dato' Klana. There was a little guerilla skirmishing. A British officer won the V.C. for leaping over a stockade on a Friday (one of the Malays' many days of rest) and driving a few Malays away from their rice-pots. The Governor informed Downing Street that the territorial chiefs of Rembau, Johol and Sungai Ujong wanted no more Yam-tuans of Negri Sembilan. He proposed that the Klana's man, Ahmad Tunggal, be given the old Portuguese and Dutch title of "Captain" *of his rival's stronghold,* Sri Menanti and Ulu Muar, with a British Agent as his adviser! Fortunately Lord Carnarvon disapproved: Her Majesty's government were "unwilling to allow any further extension of the system of Residents until they shall have had further experience of the working of those already established"—it was not yet a year since Mr. Birch had been killed. Before the end of 1876 Tengku Antah "proud and truculent-looking" but "dignified and courteous" surrendered to Maharaja (formerly Temenggong) Abu-Bakar of Johor and having brought his supporters to Government House was recognized as Yamtuan not of Negri Sembilan but of Sri Menanti and the adjacent tiny states, Johol, Ulu Muar, Jempul, Terachi, Gunong Pasir and Inas. As the British were averse to becoming further involved in the hinterland of Malacca, Maharaja Abu-Bakar now endeavoured to assert the ancient Johor lordship over Negri Sembilan, sent a Johor Malay as a sort of Resident to Sri Menanti and got the Undang of Rembau and the Yam-tuan Muda of Jelebu to sign treaties agreeing to refer any disputes for his arbitration. But just as he was to fail to get the thrones of Perak and Pahang, so too the Maharaja was to be disappointed here. The Undang

of Rembau and the Yam-tuan of Jelebu had omitted to obtain the assent of their tribal headmen, whose unanimity under the Minangkabau constitution must be like a single spout of water gushing out of a bamboo vessel. So in 1883 the Rembau tribes deposed their offending chief and chose the Governor of the Straits Settlements as their arbiter in place of the Maharaja of Johor. The Jelebu tribes tried to "uproot" 'Abdu'llah, their Yamtuan Muda, but he retaliated by depopulating miles of homesteads and rice-fields by perpetual fighting. However in 1884 he died and in June 1885 at the request of the Malays the first British Collector arrived in Jelebu and the Penghulu Mandulika, survivor of the ancient Malacca constitution, asked for the abolition of the office of Yamtuan Muda, which the Bugis had foisted on that constitution. The British unaware of these historical data, yet for practical reasons decided to elect none of the three rival claimants but to comply with the Penghulu's request. In September 1886 the Penghulu Mandulika, Sayid 'Ali bin Zin al-Jafri, together with his lesser chiefs signed a treaty surrendering the conduct of Jelebu's foreign affairs to the British and the collection of royalty on that

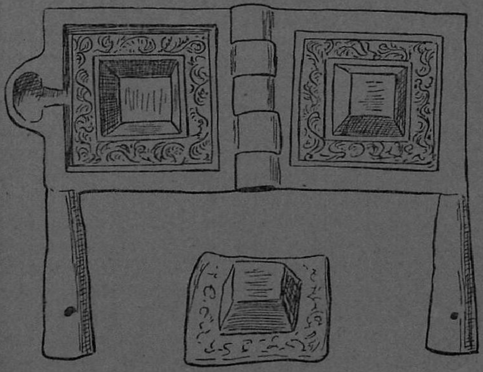

Fig. 20. Pahang tin hat-money and mould, ca. 1850.

tin which had attracted miners there from prehistoric times, as well as the collection of other revenue and the alienation of land and civil and criminal jurisdiction to the British Collector, of whose continued assistance they asked to be assured. In 1887 the Rembau chiefs signed another treaty, leaving all revenue matters and certain civil and criminal jurisdiction to an officer appointed by the Governor of the Straits Settlements: one-third of the revenue was to be paid to the Penghulu in Council for the benefit of himself and other chiefs entitled as descendants of the original Malacca settlers to participate.

Meanwhile Pahang had not only got mixed up in the Selangor disturbances but also in a Jelebu boundary dispute. After the Selangor wars Bendahara Ahmad had become reconciled with Abu-Bakar of Johor and at his suggestion (after the death of the last Lingga Sultan of direct male descent in 1883) assumed the title of Sultan of Pahang, seeing that the Dutch and English had split the old Johor empire so that allegiance to its Sultan at Lingga had long been impracticable and nebulous. In the same year Ahmad quarrelled with his brother Tun (or Engku) Mansur whom in a rash moment he had designated as his successor to the exclusion of his own son Mahmud. Engku Mansur tried to invade Pahang through Selangor but the Governor intervened. In 1885 Mr. Frank Swettenham crossed from Perak to Ulu Lipis to try to get the Sultan to make friends with his brother and a treaty with the British and to accept the proposed Jelebu boundary. On return Swettenham recommended the appointment of an Agent to the Straits Settlements at Pekan, capital of Pahang. Next year the Governor visited Pahang and tried in vain to effect a treaty. In 1887 Hugh Clifford went to Pekan *viâ* Slim in Perak. Ahmad had given out huge tracts in Lipis to Europeans, Arabs, Chinese and Malay miners without regard to the local territorial chiefs or the small Chinese who had spent $30,000 on prospecting or the small Malays whose gold mines were taken without compensation and whose villages might follow. Temerloh had been without a chief for a decade, because no one could pay the Bendahara Sultan $1,000 for the title, and meanwhile the rapacity of lesser headmen had depopulated the district. Everywhere were oppression, heavy taxes,

monopolies and perquisites. Clifford pressed for a treaty on the ground of the disorders, the influx of Europeans and the difficulty of helping Pahang without a treaty in case of invasion. The Dato' Mantri or Prime Minister of Johor came and on 10 April 1887 the Sultan asked for a treaty, though secretly Abu-Bakar (now Sultan) of Johor seems to have sent Ahmad a copy of his own treaty and advised him to keep the alienation of land and the administration of justice to Pahang subjects in his own hands. On 8 October a treaty was signed between the Governor of the Straits Settlements and Raja Ahmad, Yang di-pertuan of Pahang. It stipulated for joint defence of their respective territories against external attack. It recognized Ahmad's adoption of the title of Sultan. And the new Sultan agreed never to make any engagement with any foreign state, but to provide a free site for the residence of a British Agent in Pahang. Hugh Clifford became Agent and his presence at Pekan stopped cruelty but, when he had to leave on a visit to Singapore, two women were tortured and two Sakai boys ducked and so severely beaten on suspicion of stealing the gold mounting of a creese that one of them died. Sultan Ahmad agreed that Clifford should draw up a code, based on English Muslim and Malay customary law, establish courts and give the Pahang chiefs legal powers according to their rank. Ahmad appeared anxious for reform, though he added a section for the punishment of harbourers of runaway slaves. In the end habit and surroundings were too strong for him. He granted a concession of 2,000 square miles of coastal territory. A Malay was fined $32 because his wife broke some monopoly by making oil for her own use out of four coconuts! In the new courts the Malay judges dispensed with witnesses and fined without trial, while the chief justice confiscated the house land and goods of a Malay litigant for wounding and seducing a woman twenty years ago, a woman long since the litigant's wife. In February 1888 a Chinese British subject, Go Hin, was stabbed outside the palace and, as no one would dare such an act of *lese-majesté*, clearly the stabbing was by the Sultan's orders, but the Malay chief justice ascribed the deed to the devil and a reward of $100 was offered for information as to the cause of the untoward occurrence, whether it was due to man, djin or Shaitan! The Governor demanded that Ahmad

should pay compensation or receive a British Resident. On 8 August 1888 Sultan Ahmad Mu'azzam Shah wrote to the Governor—"We have already acknowledged our responsibility for the murder of Go Hin, a British subject. We hope that no more will be said about this matter, and that Her Majesty the Queen will be satisfied with our expression of regret." And he asked for a British Resident.

The four Malay countries that from 1895 were to become the Federated Malay States, namely Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang, were now under the shelter of the Union Jack. Only once has that protecting flag failed to keep the King's peace in those four States. In Pahang the first Resident was confronted with the same difficulties that had undone Mr. Birch in Perak. There were those "illegal" tax-gatherers the numerous local chiefs; there were debt-slavery, forced labour and that legacy of Hindu godhead, the *droit du seigneur*. As in Perak, so in Pahang, the substitution of political allowances for ancient rights caused great heart-burning, the chiefs grumbling both at the amounts allotted and at the accidental omission of certain of their number from the list of political allowances. The Sultan's ex-dogboy, Bahman, chief of Semantan and a hero of the former Pahang war and of the Selangor wars, flouted the government by continuing to collect taxes, had his title taken away by the Sultan, collected a few followers, butchered three Sikhs and captured a police-station. Rumour whispered that the Sultan, who had taken the field with 1,000 men, would follow his chiefs' entreaty to change sides and expel the British. Rebellion spread. There were only 300 police in the State but warships arrived from Singapore, while from there and Perak came more Sikh police. The cool courage of Hugh Clifford saved Kuala Lipis. The rebels scattered and, beside the task then before the 500 military police, looking for a needle in a bundle of hay would have been a pleasant recreation: for a whole month Bahman with his sixty shot-guns and his women and children lay encamped under their noses in the dense Pahang jungle. In this "war" the total casualties, excluding rebels dying from starvation in the forest, were 40 killed and 30 wounded. A general amnesty was proclaimed and even Bahman was promised his life. But Bahman had had experience of the word of Malay

rulers and put more trust in a Trengganu Sayid, who promised him success and invulnerability in a holy war. Accordingly in June 1894 he invaded Pahang and descending the Tembeling captured the stockade at its mouth, when bleeding from thirty wounds a Sikh, Ram Singh, escaped in a dug-out to warn the Malay chiefs downstream. The Malay chiefs were tired of fighting and prepared to resist their rebel brother. Again military police came from the Colony, Perak and Selangor. The political officer moving through dense undergrowth was shot fatally from behind, whereupon, according to the story, the Colonel of the Sikh Guides, excitable and frank as a hero from the Iliad, mopped his brow and cried, "Good heavens! Poor Wise shot! Open a bottle of beer." Forty rebels fell. In vain Hugh Clifford pursued the rest into Trengganu. Siamese Commissioners co-operated with Clifford in territory then under the Lord of the White Elephant, and at the end of 1895 Bahman and his few surviving followers were captured and removed to Bangkok. The last "war" in Malaya was over.

By the Bangkok treaty of 1909 Siam transferred to Great Britain all rights of suzerainty, protection, administration and control over Kelantan, Trengganu, Kedah and Perlis in return for a modification of British extra-territorial jurisdiction in Siam. The four new States accepted British protection without demur in spite of the fact that over Trengganu Siamese suzerainty had been nebulous.

As early as 1885 a treaty had been made with Johor, recognising the Maharaja's change of style to Sultan and promising protection from external attack, while the Sultan agreed to provide a residence for a British Agent should the Governor desire to appoint one. In 1914 Abu-Bakar's son, Sultan Ibrahim, asked for a General Adviser and signed a treaty accepting such an officer "whose advice must be asked for and acted upon on all matters affecting the general administration of the country and on all questions other than those touching Malay Religion and Custom."

From the borders of Siam down to the southernmost point of Asia all the Malay States had accepted British protection and British advice in the conduct of their tangled affairs.

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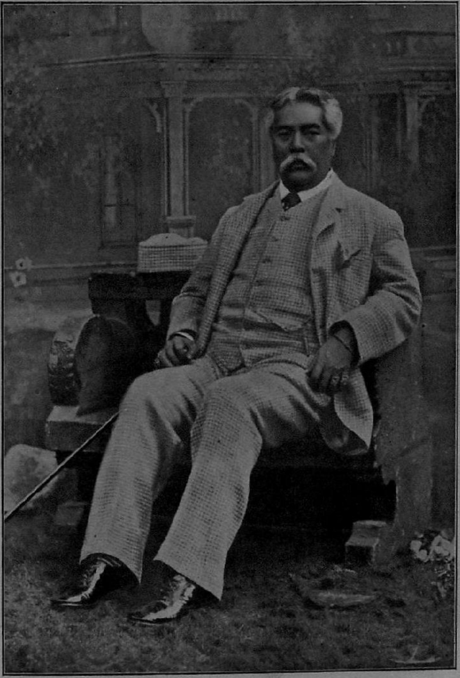

Sultan Abu-Bakar, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., of Johor.

iii.

ADMINISTRATION.

The early Residents were a motley crowd, one a naval Captain, one a Singapore lawyer, one a botanist by profession. The greatest of them all, (Sir) Hugh Low, the botanist, by happy coincidence had the same surname as Perak's first British saviour, and even though the King's representative in Singapore now had the bitter Perak lesson for his guidance, the wiser policy of Singapore cannot rob Low of the credit for bringing order out of Perak's chaos. The gist of the agreement with each of the Malay States was that the advice of a British Resident had to be asked and acted upon on all questions other than those touching Malay Religion and Custom. Yet left almost single-handed to introduce light to people who sat in feudal ignorance of modern government, the Residents were warned that they were advisers and not rulers and must not meddle in the minor details of administration. The position was delicate and impossible. But for Low it was natural to play the rôle not of Sultan's dictator but of Sultan's friend and his personality appealed to the Malay.

Low was confronted with all the revenue-difficulties of Birch, with a heavy war debt, with the need of replacing military forces by a costly constabulary and with a discontented population under many turbulent leaders. His position seemed almost hopeless. He recognized that any attempt to govern a people by overawing them was unsound on financial grounds if on no others. He reduced the cost of the police by giving police duties to native headmen and relieving many villages of their police-stations. He settled the question of the feudal revenues of the chiefs by making them local headmen and giving them a substantial percentage of all Government dues collected by them in their districts. He took the views of the people before appointing those headmen. He secured a very useful addition to the revenue by substituting a definite land-tax for the indefinite right possessed by the State to the forced labour of its people. He had the satisfaction of seeing the Perak debt paid off in a few years and the abolition of debt-slavery by the end of 1883. All revenue was collected, all appointments were made and all land was alienated in the Sultan's name. The Sultan

was President of a State Council, which joined the functions of the Executive and Legislative Councils of the Colony. On it sat the Resident, the major Malay chiefs and those former victims of Malay oppression, representative Chinese. As State Judge the Resident sat generally with Malay assessors. Every European district officer had Malay headmen to help him in the administration of justice, in alienating land and in collecting revenue.

Most of these early British officers were recruited locally, several of them ex-planters, another a sailor, a few of them members of the Colony's civil service. "The Perak State Council" writes Swettenham, "proved such a success that similar Councils were instituted in each of the States, and the procedure in all is identical." Every Resident submitted an annual report, an annual budget and a monthly journal to Singapore. Yet want of roads and railways made supervision by the Governor ineffective to secure that uniformity of administration necessary especially for the financial development of the States. The Secretary of State, therefore, agreed to the federation of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang under a Resident-General, stipulating that while the Governor was henceforth to be styled High Commissioner for the Malay States, his powers and those of the four Residents should remain intact. The new federation was to have a common Civil Service and an advisory Durbar *with no legislative or financial powers.* But the treaty constituting it in 1895 engaged that the Rulers should follow the advice not of the High Commissioner or of the Residents but of a Resident-General who had no Executive Council to control or guide him! Further it contained a clause that the Rulers concerned would give those "States in the federation which require it such assistance in men, money or other respects as the British government may advise," from which clause there developed a provision in the Agreement for the Constitution of a Federal Council, concluded in 1909, that "The Draft Estimates of Revenue and Expenditure of each State shall be considered by the Federal Council, but shall immediately on publication be communicated to the State Councils." Federal became the Railways, and the Departments of Agriculture, Education, Forestry, Labour, Survey, Public Works and Medical

Service, all of which now have joint heads securing one system for Colony and Federation. Uniformity has been the order of the day.

Although the housing of four families under one roof is common in primitive Malaysian tribes, the new structure did not escape criticism. While accepting it, Sultan Idris of Perak remarked that he had never heard of a ship having two captains. By 1909 the then Governor, Sir John Anderson, found that "the Resident-General, instead of being the mouthpiece of the High Commissioner, and the mouthpiece of the Residents to the High Commissioner, more or less combined the duties of both, subject, of course, to the control of the High Commissioner, and at the same time he had to such a very large extent power to overrule the Residents that he became practically the final authority...., except when an appeal was made to the High Commissioner." To mark the constitutional position of the office, its title was changed to Chief Secretary—a change which oddly enough every race in the States concerned disliked heartily as derogatory to the gilded juvenescence of the Federation and to the dignity of its component States and as marking the enchainment of the Federation in "the fetters of Singapore!" To take the place of the Colony's Executive Council Sir John Anderson arranged for regular meetings between the High Commissioner, the Chief Secretary and the Residents, while to take the place of State Councils whose financial and legislative powers had been usurped by the Resident-General in the sacred name of uniformity, he instituted a Federal Council to meet once a year and have absolute control of finance and legislation. The President of this Council was (and is) the High Commissioner, or in his absence the Chief Secretary; its original members were the four Rulers, the Residents and four unofficial members. The transfer of financial and legislative powers to this body left on the agenda of the State Councils only matters of the Muslim religion, the consideration of death sentences and the banishment of alien criminals! A wise sense of statesmanship and of their own dignity kept the Rulers mute on the new Council. The Residents were mute in the presence of the Chief Secretary and the High Commissioner. The High Commissioner followed the

discreet practice of Colonial Governors in leaving debate to his second-in-command. The spokesmen were a Chief Secretary voicing the common interests of federal administration and the Unofficials voicing the common interests of tin and rubber. Sir Lawrence Guillemard, the next Governor after Anderson to come from the Home Civil Service, noted these points. He compared the trivial duties of the State Councils within the Federation with the power and dignity of the Councils of the Unfederated States. He remarked how in the new States "the British Advisers had to deal with a different type of Ruler from the type of fifty years ago, and they set about their task in a different way. They have never attempted to be anything except Advisers." They guided the new States "along lines in no wise bureaucratic and for the benefit primarily of the Malays." Between them and the High Commissioner was no senior officer with executive powers. Sir Lawrence removed the Rulers from the contentious atmosphere of the Federal Council and substituted in their place an unofficial Malay member from each State, who could speak freely and join in debate. He increased the number of unofficial members to cover the racial interests of the community. And so that the Chief Secretary should not have to make vague and bureaucratic pronouncements on all branches of public policy, he gave seats to the heads of big departments in whose work and expenditure the public were interested, officers who could be heckled in debate and would have to explain and defend their actions. On the financial side, he transferred from Federal to State control provision for Malay political allowances and pensions, for the maintenance of the State Secretariat, district offices and magistrates' courts. And he mooted the extension of the legislative powers of State Councils. Later developments in devolution are too recent and too inchoate for history to discuss or describe.

Compared with the Federation in its infancy the new States have enjoyed infinite advantages. To link them with the roads and railways of the rest of Malaya was the work of a few years. They had the laws of the Colony and Federation to copy. They had at their call trained officers with local experience, not only

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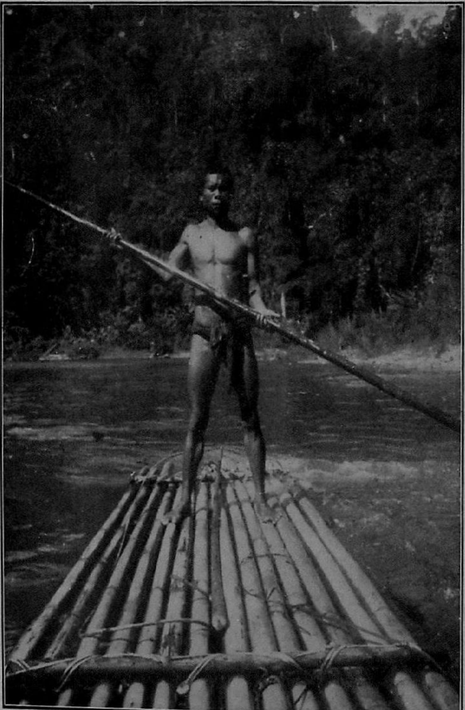

A Senoi Raftsman.

civil servants proper but engineers, doctors, schoolmasters, surveyors, foresters and agriculturists. And Johor and Kedah swept into prosperity on the crest of a rubber boom that enabled them to pay for their rapid development.

XII

CONCLUSION.

A whole history might be written on the recent trade of the various political units of Malaya, the Straits Settlements, the Federated and Unfederated Malay States. In 1901 the revenue of the Straits Settlements was about £700,000; by 1911 it had grown to £1,331,075; in 1929, a peak year, it was £6,403,634, and even in 1933 it amounted to £3,684,933. Again. In 1897 the revenue of the Federated Malay States was £825,000 and in 1920 it was £8,432,333; or, whereas in 1897 it was 30 shillings a head of the population, in 1920 it was £6.10. In 1927, a peak year, the revenue of the federation was £12,297,187 and though in the slump of 1933 it fell to just over £5½ millions, even 1934 saw an appreciable rise. Of the Unfederated States, Johore the wealthiest, has no public debt and an estimated surplus at the end of 1934 of nearly five million pounds sterling. So much for tin and rubber. But what has been the effect of European influence on the races of the Peninsula?

Except for a century-old Catholic mission to the aborigines behind Malacca and more recent Methodist attentions to the Sakai, there has been no direct attempt to influence those *silvicolae et exsules vitae,* the aborigines of Malaya. His charms show that centuries ago the Proto-Malay borrowed Hindu demonology from the civilised Malay. In the less inaccessible spots many aborigines have more recently embraced Islam and send their children to Malay schools; a few years ago a tribe of Proto-Malays, summoned to exhibit their skill on the blow-pipe to an Undersecretary of State, arrived early from their Malay villages in Ford cars and left their European khaki and thermos flasks in charge of the drivers, as they vanished in pristine nudity into the forest depths! In his taste for European novelties, his abandonment of animism for Islam and his slow belief in European medicine the aborigine nearest to roads follows his closest affinity, the jungle Malay of the up-country hamlet, and following him he does not travel too fast.

A political system, art, science and literature may be taken to be the essential attributes of civilisation, and even in 1511

2544

Sri Sultan Iskandar Shah G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., of Perak.

when the Portuguese took Malacca the Malay had them all. A social sense, arising out of tribal solidarity, has always distinguished him from the Chinese, who giving up to the family what was meant for the state is a strong individualist. Accordingly, even before the Hindu period the Malay had a system of government by village gaffers and tribal chiefs, while during that period he learned to combine a respect for the divine right of kings with an ineradicable manly independence and to accept a compromise between absolute monarchy and rule by elders. Old Malacca had in theory a system of government by the divine king, advised by a cabinet of ministers, a prime minister and commander-in-chief, a minister for police and customs, a treasurer, a court chamberlain, an admiral and so on. As for art, the early Malay colonies on the Peninsula were too small and Malacca too late to develop the fine Buddhist and Hindu art of their kinsmen in Palembang and Java, and what art they may have had time Islam and the Portuguese destroyed, leaving only patterns of fabrics copied from Indian models and some metal-work more chaste in design than most Indian pieces. The Malay has clung tenaciously until lately to his science, the science of Europe in the Middle Ages: that science was magic, derived mostly from Hindu sources and transformed later by Islam and blessed as part of its theological system as formerly it had been part of Hinduism. For literature the Malay had as early as the sixteenth century translated not only old Javanese romances, and the Mahabharata and the Ramayana but also the Persian " Tales of a Parrot " and the Muslim romances of Amir Hamzah and Muhammad Hanafiah and the tale of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. Indifferent to the advent of white traders he went on to borrow from the Persian the tale of Alexander the Great, to collect from the Deccan scores of Indian romances and to import innumerable works of Islamic theology until today the catalogues of Malay manuscripts at Leiden and Batavia alone fill over 1,200 printed pages, not one in a thousand of the works showing European influence. Finally the Portuguese found the Malay with systems of law, the matriarchal law of tribal responsibility enshrined in the sayings of the Minangkabaus behind Malacca and the patriarchal law embodied in works like the Malacca

Code, while by 1650 Kedah had elaborated port laws resembling closely those of the Moguls recorded in the *Tarikh-i-Tahiri*.

The Portuguese regarded all Muslims as enemies of Christ and themselves, and even a St. Xavier would not seek to influence other than his Catholic flock and possible converts to that flock, which no Muslim Malays ever were. About these bigoted and relentless "white Bengalis" the Malays can have admired nothing except their courage in war and their material civilisation; and Portuguese influence is in fact shown in the Portuguese loanwords in Malay, namely the words for *priest, torture, velvet, pump, fork, table, bench, pin, bullet, ribbon, lace, gold-leaf, shirt, gown, towel, auction*. Dutch influence depended entirely on a trading company's stock-in-trade, on Dutch orderliness and on the example of cleanliness of the traders' houses, while actually the monopoly system more effective than any Eastern system and its Portuguese predecessor, caused a decline in Malay wealth and therefore in Malay civilisation and promoted that anarchy which obtained in the Malay States before British intervention.

Not till the time of Stamford Raffles was European policy directed to any end but commerce. Slavery still existed. The world was divided into Christian and infidel. Individuals there must have been, Dutch and English, as there are today, who liked the Oriental and were liked in turn. As early as 1681 the Dutch complained of the great loss English private trade caused their Company "especially as the English are esteemed for their natural character and their large purchases." But the main secret of English popularity was that making a virtue of necessity the Englishman was a free-trader and breaker of the Dutch monopoly. As races, both the Dutch and the British lack the exceptionally fine courtesy of the Malay though the much criticized English reserve has its appeal for the Malay and the Chinese as a form of good manners. While the white man sometimes regards the Asiatic as tricky and evasive, the Asiatic sometimes finds in the white man the same trait. Witness the old Penang scandal! At times the European adherence to principles instead to persons was, as it still is, a cause of misunderstanding. Again, European liking for alcohol and unclean foods offends Muslim taste and to this

day is considered responsible for the strong odour of a European in the tropics (for every race has its own smell), though the British campaign against yaws and insect-infested hair and decayed teeth has now convinced the Malay of the superiority of British hygiene. Accustomed from immemorial time to trade with foreigners, he has not, however, been swept off his feet by contact with Europeans any more than he was by Hindus and Chinese at the beginning of the Christian era. Even today, when European science has upset his old belief that his is a very pure race related somehow to the Arab and tells him that his very mixed ancestors came from Yunnan, the Malay, largely owing to his religion, shows no tendency at all to lose his identity and become a parody of the European. Even the heroines of the cinema have seduced him to nothing worse than writing chaste love-letters to Malay school-girls; and he has discovered that the cinema world is no more a real world than the world of the Malay opera or Chinese play. A higher standard of education and living has postponed the age for marriage. Improved methods of agriculture have lightened the Malay's toil and bettered his food. The Malay population continues to increase, and better food and games have increased the percentage of youths suitable for the regiments and the police.

In 1931 there were 1,709,392 Chinese out of Malaya's total population of 4,385,346. For ages they have traded with the Peninsula, their only interest commerce. In times of anarchy, as when Sri Vijaya broke up, and centuries later when the Malay States were in the melting pot of civil war, the individual Chinese merchant has tried to make something out of the turmoil by financing some one of the chiefs stirring the cauldron in return for his promise of limitless concessions of land in the event of victory. But before the advent of the British, the Chinese unlike the Malay did nothing to colonize Malaya and had no political status, the only settlers being a few in Malacca, where in days before Islam was strong they took local women and started the Baba class, later looking to Babas, Javanese and Balinese to be the mothers of their children. British protection caused Chinese to pour into Malaya to become labourers on mines and rubber estates, fishermen and domestic servants, and in the second and

later generations merchants and professional men. The wealth of the community is great and without Chinese brains and energy Malaya could not have developed as it has. This has been recognized by giving the Chinese representation on Legislative and State Councils, while quite recently one Chinese has been appointed a member of the Executive Council of the Colony.

Indians have visited Malaya ever since the Hindu period. In the XVIIIth century we find a Sultan of Perak giving a title to a Tamil who had one wife in Perak and another in India and was engaged in the elephant trade. Down to 1873 Singapore, Malacca and Penang were " the Sydneys of India," being convict stations first under the East India Company and then under the Government of India. In 1857 there were 2,139 of these convicts in the Singapore gaol. Especially in Penang they merged in the local population. Later still Indian labour has been encouraged to immigrate for work on roads, railways and estates. Tamils are far more numerous than the rest of the natives of India taken together, and nowadays many settle in the Peninsula permanently as doctors, lawyers, merchants and clerks.

The population of Singapore has been said to consist of a greater number of races than any place except Cape Town. All live in a remarkable atmosphere of good-will, mixing socially as far as prejudices and community of interests encourage mixing; for it has to be remembered that even among men of the same race there are " imperfect sympathies " and a soldier tends to mix with soldiers, clergy with clergy, a merchant with other merchants and so on.

The British have not given Malaya a new religion. Nor have they given it a new art, which is no cause for wonder seeing that for a hundred years they have had none to give and that in place of temples they have built counting-houses. As I have written elsewhere " a counting-house is no more the Sanctuary of the Good than it is of the Beautiful. However a counting-house must be secure and that has given countries under our suzerainty the *pax Britannica*. Again the merchant, a conqueror and no linguist, has wanted clerks who knew English, and this has imported western

education. Other items to our credit are certain decent ideas which the merchant has held about all his customers being free and equal in the eyes of the law, for these ideas have led to practical altruism. Finally, it is idle to keep a ledger unless one can recover one's debts, and this has brought the greatest boon of all; tampering with scales is a fine art in an Eastern bazaar, but the scales of British justice, despite its *chinoiseries*, are held in hands incorruptible." British civilisation in Malaya has that best of all tributes, the keenly critical appreciation of races with ancient civilisations of their own.

A

SULTANS OF MALACCA, ANCIENT PAHANG, ANCIENT JOHOR AND MODERN PERAK.

PARAMESWARA founded Malacca; d. ca. 1414.

MUHAMMAD ISKANDAR SHAH, d. 1424.

SRI MAHARAJA, d. 1444.
m. (*a*) Princess of Rokan, (*b*) d. of a Tamil merchant from Pasai.

- (*a*) R. Ibrahim, SRI PARAMESWARA DEWA SHAH; killed ca. 1446.
- (*b*) R. Kasim, S. MUZAFFAR SHAH*, d. ca. 1456.
  - R. 'Abdu'llah, S. MANSUR SHAH*
    - R. Ahmad, first S. of Pahang d. 1475.
    - R. Muhammad, second S. of Pahang
      - Rulers of Pahang until ca. 1635.
    - R. Husain S. 'ALA'U'D-DIN RIAYAT SHAH* d. 1488.
      - S. MAHMUD* of Malacca, Johor, Riau and Kampar d. 1530.
        - S. Muzaffar Shah, founder of the Perak dynasty.
        - S. 'ALA'U'D-DIN SHAH* d. 1564 at Acheh.
          - Emperors of Johor down to 1699.

(1) The rulers of Malacca and its successor, the Johor empire, are denoted by capitals. S. = Sultan. R. = Raja.

(2) * = Sons of ladies of the Bendahara family.

(3) For the genealogies of Johor and Perak see my histories of those States; for the Pahang tree see the forthcoming history of Pahang by Mr. Linehan. The great-grandfather of the present Sultan of Perak was a Lingga Raja (married to a lady of the Malacca line), so that on the male side the Perak Sultans must now be descended from the Bendahara-Sultans of Johor, who ruled from Lingga.

B

THE BENDAHARAS OF MALACCA AND JOHOR AND THEIR DESCENDANTS, THE EMPERORS OF JOHOR AND SULTANS OF TRENGGANU, JOHOR AND PAHANG.

Tun Perpateh Besar.

Tun Perpateh Sedang.

Tun Perak B. P. R.

Tun Kudu m. (a) Muzaffar Shah S. of Malacca, d. ca. 1459 (b) Tun Ali Sri Nara 'diraja.

Tun Senaja m. S. 'Ala'u'd-din of Malacca.

MAHMUD, last S. of Malacca.

Tun Tahir, Sri Nara 'diraja, executed 1511 at Malacca.

Tun Mahmud, B. Sri Narawangsa.

Tun Isap Misai, B. S. M. d. ca. 1590.

Tun Kechil (?) m. R. Mahmud, grandson of a S. of Siak and s. of a Pahang princess of Malacca's royal line.

S. MUZAFFAR II of Perak, d. 1653 m. a Pahang princess of the Malacca and Perak royal lines.

Present Perak dynasty.

Tun Ahmad, Paduka Raja, d. ca. 1580.

Tun Muhammad, Sri Lanang, B. P. R. (fl. 1580-1615).

Tun Jinal, Dato' Sekudai, B. P. R. (fl. 1644).

a daughter m. a Sayid (? Zain al-'Abidin).

Dato' Sri Maharaja.

Tun Habib 'Abdu'l-Majid, B. S. M., d. 1697.

S. 'ABDU'L-JALIL RIAYAT SHAH B. P. R., Emperor of Johor, d. 1719.

TUN ZAIN AL-'ABIDIN, S. of Trengganu, d. 1733.

Present Trengganu dynasty.

Tun 'Abbas B. S. M. at Riau.

S. SULAIMAN, Emperor (at Riau) d. 1760.

Tun 'Abdu'l-Majid B. P. R., Pahang d. 1802.

Tun Koris, B. P. R. Pahang d. 1806.

Tun 'Ali B. S. R. Pahang d. 1857.

WAN AHMAD, B. S. R., S. of Pahang, d. 1914.

Present Pahang dynasty.

Tun 'Abdu'l-Jamal, Temenggong at Riau.

Daing Kechil.

Temenggong 'Abdu'r-Rahman of Singapore d. 1825.

Temenggong Ibrahim of Singapore and Johor d. 1862.

ABU-BAKAR S. of Johor d. 1895.

Present Johor dynasty.

S. 'ABDU'L-JALIL MU'AZZAM SHAH, Emperor d. 1761.

S. AHMAD, Emperor d. 1761.

S. MAHMUD, Emperor (at Lingga) d. 1812.

S. HUSAIN of Singapore d. 1835.

'ABDU'R-RAHMAN (at Lingga) last Emperor of Johor d. 1830.

S. = Sultan; R. = Raja; B.S.R. = Bendahara Sriwa Raja; P.B.R. = Bendahara Paduka Raja; B. S. M. = Bendahara Sri Maharaja. [illegible] aharas are denoted by capitals.

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